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CONTRASTIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND UNIVERSALS IN LANGUAGE USAGE

JULIANE HOUSE

University of Hamburg

My paper will be in two parts:
In the first part I shall investigate the cross-cultural validity of some of the analytic categories I have used in 2 contrastive projects: (1) the Bochum project "Communicative Competence as a learning objective in foreign language teaching" (cf. Edmondson et al. 1982), in which talk between pairs of German native speakers, pairs of English native speakers, and pairs consisting of a German learner of English and an English native speaker in a controlled and structured range of dyadic interactions was analysed and variously compared, and (2) the "Cross-cultural speech act realization project" (cf. Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984), based on native speaker and learner data from 7 different languages and cultures: British, American, and Australian English, German, French, Danish, and Hebrew. In this project, data has been elicited via questionnaires featuring discourse completion tasks in which subjects were asked to complete requests and apologies in a variety of socially differentiated situations. In the second part of the paper, I shall try to show how — inside the claimed universal framework — cultural differences can be located at various levels of analysis.

I. In seeking to justify the application of categories to analysis of data taken from different linguistic-cultural contexts, I shall make four claims which I shall deal with in turn.

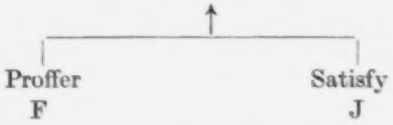
1. In investigating discourse phenomena across languages and cultures, one may assume that there exist basic *interactional structures* which underpin all human interaction (verbal or non-verbal). These interactional structures are outlined in a model for the analysis of spoken discourse deve-

loped by Willis Edmondson (1981), which was later adapted in a "Pedagogic interactional grammar of English" (cf. Edmondson and House 1981).

I do not wish to suggest that *all* categories provided in the model are interactional universals, but that some so to speak *basic* categories, particularly at the level of the move and exchange, are. In any human encounter, the basic interactional unit for achieving social outcome is a bipartite exchange structure in which the initiating activity of one member is complemented by the sequentially relevant one of another. Of the two elements or moves, the first one is a *stimulus* for the second which is a *response* to that stimulus. (Such two-part structures also underpin the tied-pair phenomenon of the ethnomethodologists). Note that this structure is an interactional and not a conversational one. A question-answer sequence, for instance, constitutes a conversational unit: here the basic two-part interactional structure is filled out by two sequentially placed utterances. In *conversation*, elements of interactional structure provide the *slots*, illocutionary acts are their *fillers*.

The two moves in the basic two-part structure are called *Proffer* and *Satisfy*. Here is an example of this simple structure: the Proffer-Satisfy Exchange.

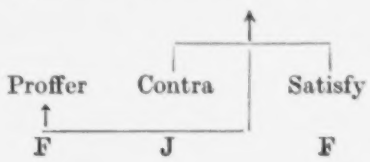
A Fred: could you translate this into German for me John
John: sure



The bracketing indicates a "closed sequence": the arrow placed thereon indicates *outcome*.

Given this basic structure, it is clear that John has another option open to him than to immediately "satisfy" the proffer: if he turns down the request, his move will then *not* satisfy the preceding move. In this case a *Contra* would result. If a *Contra* is satisfied, a three-part-exchange results: cf. the following example.

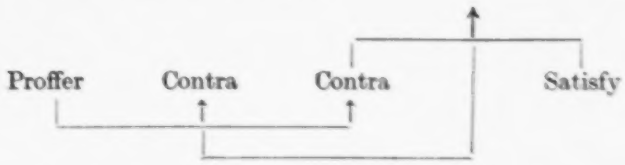
B Fred: could you translate this into German for me John
John: hm it's a hell of a length
Fred: yeah well okay I'll ask somebody else



The arrow running back below the line indicates that in contributing to the outcome, F "withdraws" the original *Proffer*. The *Satisfy* works with respect to the preceding move in the same exchange.

Now, instead of immediately Satisfying a *Contra*, a speaker may, of course, Contra it (and this may, in fact, be repeated such that a whole string of Contras results). Consider the following example.

C Fred: could you translate this into German for me John
John: hm well look Fred I'm pretty busy at the moment
Fred: oh please John it's pretty short
John: oh okay then seeing it's you



The three moves: *Proffer*, *Satisfy*, and *Contra* are the major elements of exchange structure, and these moves may, I would claim, be taken as universals in the sense that they provide "invariant points of reference for *description* and *comparison*" (Kluckhohn 1968:282). What this claim to universality amounts to is simply the following:

(1) if any effective social outcome is to be possible among members, one member must initiate the contact

(2) following such initiation, the addressed either faces the choice between behaving in a way *consistent* with the initiator's intention or approach, or of *not* doing so. In the case that the latter option is followed, rule 2 applies recursively.

Now it is, of course, clear that in conversational behaviour the options are not restricted to a clear Satisfying or Contraing of an initiation. This leads me directly to my second claim.

2. It is a generally accepted fact that social structures influence interaction (resulting, for instance, most obviously in the use of specific situational varieties or "registers") and that these social structures can generally be characterized by a) the presence or absence of a power relationship and b) by the presence or absence of an intimacy or familiarity relationship. These two dimensions have, in fact, been posited to be universal by many anthropologists, e.g., by Radcliffe-Brown (1952), Leach (1972), and recently by Brown and Levinson (1978), who add a third one, "Ranking of impositions in a particular culture". These dimensions regulate who may speak to whom how long or on what topic,

when, in which manner, and so on, and they influence the manipulation of interactional structures via the use of *strategies*. The most important point here is the following: given a social hierarchy inside any structured social organisation, there will always be different rights to decision making over others. This leads, I would claim, to different requirements in different speakers re *face-work* and negotiations and thus *strategic behaviour*.

In employing strategies, a speaker brings not so much his linguistic skills, but his psycho-social skills into play, which he often employs unconsciously and intuitively, managing to anticipate, discredit or combat his hearer's reactions in advance. The art of supporting one's hearer while, at the same time, trying to attain one's own goals, is the gist of this notion of strategy. From this it becomes clear that we are here dealing primarily with the *psychological interpretation* of conversational structure, and it is this general human psychological basis which may be taken as a justification of the speculated universality of strategies.

In Edmondson's model, it is the following type of strategy which seems to fulfil this claim to universality: the relation holding between two or more contiguous moves performed in one turn of talk by the same speaker, where this relationship is one between head move and one or more subordinate moves. These subordinate moves are called *supportive moves*, and their use is a strategic one. While not directly entering into interactional structure themselves, these supportive moves are derived from such structures via *anticipation*; examples of such strategic categories are the *Grounder*, used by a speaker to ground for instance a *Request*, the *Sweetener*, used to sweeten an imposition on the hearer implied in the request, or the *Disarmer*, used to anticipate a possible offence. Now, the realization of these strategies in particular types of moves may well differ widely — this is an empirical issue which would obviously have to be tested out with a wide range of languages.

In the use of strategies, notions such as "tact" (cf. Leech 1977) and "politeness" are at issue, notions which are centrally concerned with the degree to which a speaker takes his hearer into account and suits what he says and how he says it to what he believes his hearer's reactions might be. Such strategic activity is subsumed by Edmondson (1981) under the "H-Support-Maxim", which applies to both participants in any dyadic interaction and which, I would speculate, is also a panhuman, pancultural principle, given the assumption of basic rationality in human beings and their need for communication, the latter concept — if one takes its etymological roots into account — implying "sharing" and "distributing".

In sum, the concept of mutual support in an interaction, which in itself facilitates that interaction, may be a universal principle governing interactional behaviour in that any human being will have to make sure that his interlocutor (minimally) cooperates with him if he himself is to reach his own goals.

3. There are some *universal categories of speaker-meaning*, which I shall for convenience call "illocutionary categories", though the understanding of illocutionary acts is here non-standard. These categories may be derived from a small set of very basic *perceptual-cognitive distinctions* that reflect fundamental social needs. In other words, I boldly posit that there are some things you have to be able to do with words in any natural language...

Consider the following three perceptual distinctions:

(1) *Past versus Present*

Let us consider an event or state of affairs P. The claim is that a current or past-time located P is experiencable in a way that is fundamentally different from a future P. Note that this conceptual distinction underpins language acquisition ontogenetically and is independent of the time/tense system in any specific language. A non-future P is renewable, a future P is either plannable, or plans can be made in the light of its eventuality. I assume that the ability to make decisions re the future is intrinsically and uniquely human.

(2) *Self versus other*

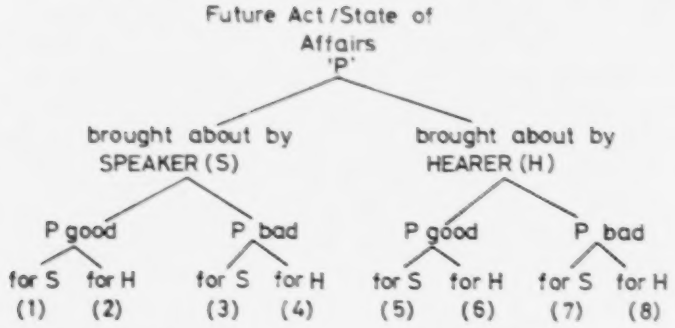
Is the speaker agentively involved in a certain event or state of affairs, or the hearer? This distinction is one that also plays a crucial role in the first stages of language acquisition in children. I do not need to elaborate the claim that this perceptual distinction is a socially central one.

(3) Is an event (or state of affairs) deemed *desirable* or *undesirable*? This distinction reflects the difference between a *Satisfy* and a *Contra* — the two basic moves in interactional structure mentioned before. The claim is essentially that all human beings are prone to evaluate.

Now these three universal perceptual distinctions may be used to develop a system for distinguishing categories of perceived events or states of affairs (cf. Leech 1977 and Edmondson 1981) which seem to fit well with the perception of different kinds of speech acts, as this perception is reflected in the lexis of English. The system is based on 4 binary feature-pairs as follows:

(1) An event or state of affairs P is (±) future-located
(2) Either the speaker (S) or the hearer (H) is involved in causing P to be the case (to be glossed as agentive-involvement)
(3) P is perceived by a speaker as having positive or negative consequences
(4) for either the speaker (S) or the hearer (H).

For illustrative purposes, consider the values resulting from this matrix when the first choice is [+future], i.e., we are considering a future event or state of affairs P involving S or H with good or bad consequences for S or H, as follows:



(1) "RESOLVE"/"DETERMINE" (='RESOLVE')
(2) "OFFER"/"PROMISE" (='WILLING')
(3) "RESOLVE" ETC (TO DO NOT-P) (='RESOLVE')
(4) "RESOLVE" ETC (TO DO NOT-P) (='RESOLVE')
(5) "REQUEST"/"PLEAD"/"ORDER" ETC (='REQUEST')
(6) "SUGGEST"/"ADVISE" ETC (='SUGGEST')
(7) "REQUEST" ETC (TO DO NOT-P) (='REQUEST')
(8) "SUGGEST" ETC (TO DO NOT-P) (='SUGGEST')

Note that the terms used to gloss each constellation of features are *English* lexical items: my hypothesis is that for the analysis of conversational behaviour in *any* language, speech events which communicate the feature constellation attached to the events distinguished in the matrix, will have distinctive significance. Thus if a speaker communicates in an utterance a positive attitude towards his doing P in the future *in his own interest*, this is likely to be interpreted as an illocutionary act communicating an *intention* to do P. If a speaker communicates a positive attitude towards his doing P in the future, *as in the interests of H*, this will be interpreted as an indication of *willingness* on the part of S to do P, and so on.

The concept of illocutionary act here is somewhat more broadly based than is the case in Searle, for example. My claim is that utterances which "address", so to speak, events and perceived attitudes designed in this matrix *will have a distinctive social significance* — hence such broadly defined illocutionary categories may well have universal application in the analysis of social talk.

4. *Ritual Openings and Closings* of Encounters featuring a variety of verbal routines are available in any language community. These ritual routines are provided in any language to help speakers in the management of potentially face-threatening transitional stages which tend to be perceived as fraught with interpersonal peril because of the natural tension in any human being between keeping one's territory and transcending it and letting others approach one's territory.

Transitional ritual routines frequently occur in the form of fixed formulae

(characterized, for example, in the German and English interactions I examined by simple two-part exchange structures) which are indicative of the frequency of their use. The universality of such verbal routines has been proposed, among others, by Ferguson (1981), who provided examples from various different languages and who claimed that the use of greeting routines is related to the greeting behaviour displayed by many animals.

The specific ritual illocutionary categories occurring in Openings and Closings will, of course, vary across cultures. Thus I would not venture to claim that the categories I have set up in comparing German and English Openings and Closings in the Bochum project, such as, for example, the *Territorial Breach Apology* (apologetic formulae uttered in recognition of the fact that territory has been broken into) or the *Extractor* (used when a speaker wishes to "extract" himself from an encounter that has not led to a natural close), are universally applicable. My claim is merely that there is a universal *availability* of opening and closing routines, and it seems clear that different types of categories will be necessary to describe the specific manifestations of these universally available routine formulae in openings and closings in different cultures.

II. Inside this claimed universal framework, cultural differences can be located on at least the following 5 levels of analysis:

1. At *the formal level*, communicative acts will clearly be realized via different tokens. This is too obvious a claim to be expatiated on further.

2. *The collocational and sequential possibilities* of different communicative acts will vary across speech communities, i.e., a sequence of communicative acts in Culture A does not have a 1:1 correspondence to a functionally equivalent sequence of communicative acts in culture B. For instance, in comparing openings in certain telephone conversations in such closely related speech communities as the German and the Britisch ones, I found that the German sequence is, conventionally, of the following form:

X — Identification
Y — Identification

as compared to the English sequence featuring most commonly

X — Greet+Identification+Offer of Help
Y — Greet+Identification

or consider leavetaking rituals in German, where the tied pairs (Auf Wiedersehen — Auf Wiedersehen) are often repeated due to the convention of handshaking which prompts an extended leavetaking sequence.

3. The degrees and ways in which *verbal and non-verbal means of* realizing different universal communicative acts are related, is *not a constant*.

Many of the illocutionary values derived from the matrix featuring the 3

universal perceptual-cognitive dimensions will most likely be realized in variously interlocked stages of verbal and non-verbal expression in different cultures.

In my comparison of German and English interactions I found, for example, that in many instances in the German data the adjacency pair *Thanks — Minimization of Thanks* conventionally occurs *verbally*, whilst in the English data the *Minimize* slot is frequently realized *non-verbally*.

If there is variation in verbal and non-verbal realization of communicative acts even in such closely related languages and cultures, one may hypothesize that various slots in interactional structure will be realized in different modes depending on specific cultural conventions and traditions.

4. The degree and manner of *routinization* operating for the performance of different communicative acts, is clearly a cultural variable, so is, of course, the *range* of existing conventional formulae.

It is the occurrence of differential degrees of routinization which constitutes, in fact, one of the major overall results of my comparison of German and English interactions: in the English dialogues, tokens realizing certain ritual communicative acts in opening and closing phases, certain types of conversational strategies as well as illocutionary acts such as *Thanks* and *Apologize*, were found to be consistently more "routinized" than was the case in the equivalent German interactions. Thus, German speakers were prone to "improvise", to use more content-oriented, verbose and less pre-fabricated formulaic tokens to fit a specific occasion.

5. Despite the fact that the ways the *social dimensions of power* and *social distance* conventionally operate in language communities, *are probably similar or equivalent* ,the social structures of a particular community will, of course, be unique to that community. Thus, we can, for instance, *not* assume that classroom discourse (in particular the level of formality conventionally holding between students and teachers) or doctor — patient interactions as conventionally conducted, will evidence structural and strategic similarity. The issue I am addressing here concerns the phenomenon that members of different cultures — in accordance with the way they perceive the social structure in their community — tend to select tokens evidencing different *degrees* of politeness or "directness". I am referring to what anthropologists have called the "cultural ethos" (cf. Bateson 1972), "the effective quality of interaction characteristic of members of a society" (Brown and Levinson 1978:248). In the Bochum project, for instance, we have found that this "cultural ethos" differs even between two such closely related cultures as the (British) English and German ones, and the comparison of politeness phenomena in the expression of Requests and Complains (cf. House and Kasper 1981) revealed substantial differences in the directness levels of both Complains and Requests in German and English, i.e.

etically speaking, German speakers tended to behave consistently less politely than their English counterparts.

For the purpose of contrastive discourse analysis, it is necessary to relate the posited universals to such empirically observable cultural differences as outlined in the five levels of analysis just described. In this area, cross-cultural empirical work is just at its beginning, and much empirical work needs to be done if we wish to get beyond speculative claims.

A valid claim of pragmatic universality can either be founded on investigations of X different languages and cultures (i.e., it might be empirically investigated), or it might be based on some psycho-social-communicative theory and a concrete model which is testable. In this paper I have followed the latter course. However, the model which underpins my claims has also been tested in a number of studies comparing German and English interactions (cf. House 1979, 1982a, b, c; House and Kasper 1981). Further, several of the categories provided in this model are currently being tested out with a number of different languages in the on-going Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project. The results so far seem to indicate that there is, indeed, a system of pragmatic regularities which underlies conversational behaviour.

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TYPOLOGY AND CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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1. The terms "contrast" and "analogy" (identity and difference) refer to concepts that have a distinctly *relative* character. At the pragmatic level, their referential content is determined by the actual object of comparison (confrontation, contrast), by the type of levels, structures, units and, ultimately, languages subjected to analysis (related languages, closely related languages, etc.), and by the envisaged aim of analysis (general characterization, detailed characterization). In the case of typologically distant (i.e. substantially different) languages, comparison reveals major, more striking, more appreciable contrasts. It should also be borne in mind that in closely related languages (e.g. Slavonic languages) the line of demarcation may not always be distinct enough. In other words, there is no sharp contrast between identity and difference, but rather a continuous progression (Straková 1978).

2. The fact that linguistic confrontation (contrastive analysis) involves in the first place the study of *sub-systems* (Fisiak 1980) is consistent with the systemic character of language. The principles upon which contrastive analysis is based are, on the one hand, the same for all levels of language. On the other hand, they specifically apply to a particular linguistic level.

In our view, an adequate conception and representation of two language systems presupposes compliance with the following requirements:

(1) the two contrasted languages are subjected to the same analysis;
(2) the analysis duly considers the specific character of the linguistic units under examination;
(3) semantic identity constitutes the principle of linguistic confrontation.

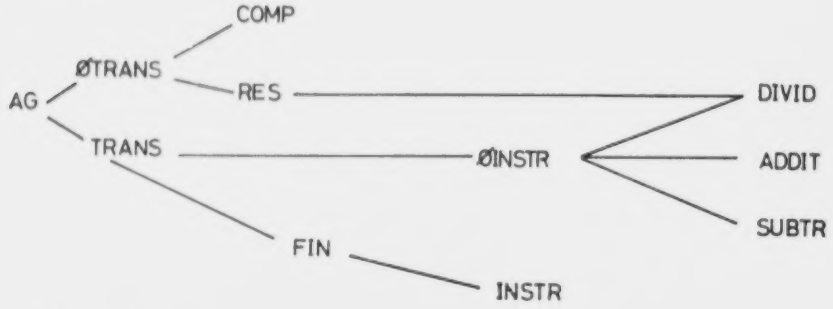
3. The identification of *systemic features* is of fundamental significance for a typological characterization (which constitutes the comprehensive aim of

contrastive analysis). Correspondingly, major relevance is assigned to *systemic relations*. At the same time, the analyst must be aware of the fact that systemic features can only be sought in typically patterned areas of the language system. With regard to word-formation typology this means that only serial formations (paradigmatic formations) are relevant. Individual formations are excluded from the scope of systemic analysis.

4. The semantic analysis of derivation units (derivatives) can be presented as *componential analysis*. This type of analysis proceeds from the assumption that semantic markers (semes) can be evaluated as an organizational factor of the semantic system. Semes can be either formally marked (explicit) or formally unmarked (implicit).

The formal *explicitness* of the semantic components of Slavonic lexemes can be evidenced (though not always in the same fashion in different languages) in several respects. The most clear-cut features of the Slavonic languages include the explicitness of the parts-of-speech characterization and, in the case of verbs, the transitivity characteristic.

5. In each derivation complex (in our study — noun-derived verbs) the semantic markers are *hierarchized*. Schematically they can be represented as follows:



Explanations:

The dominating feature of the hierarchy of semes in noun-derived (de-substantivized) verbs is the parts-of-speech marker — Agency (AG); the parts-of-speech marker also dominates other parts-of-speech categories: concreteness in nouns, quality in adjectives. Then follows Transitivity — TRANS (syntagmatic marker).

Comparativeness — COMP (identification marker) may occur in all parts of speech.

The two markers Resultativeness — RES and Finality — FIN are pragmatic in character; they are conditioned by the verbal character of the derivation unit (in the case in point, by the verbal character of the derivation base).

The semes DIVID, ADDIT, SUBTR are concrete lexical exponents (effectors) of the derivation structure.

Notes:

1. for classification purposes the following distinctions could be drawn:
   a) limit-semes (the largely concrete, largely lexical type of semes),
   b) connective semes;
2. certain connective semes may have a positive as well as negative (zero) realization: TRANS::ØTRANS
   INSTR ::ØINSTR

6. As is obvious from the data examined, analysis identified semantic markers (semes) that are relevant for derivation semantics (in our case, for the derivation complex of noun-derived verbs). The semes were subsequently plotted into specific *configurations*, i.e. models of certain semantic structures that can be assigned corresponding morphemic structures. Furthermore, the specific derivation means throught which individual semantic classes can be realized were identified.

Configurations of the semantic markers of deS-V
(deS-V semantic classes):

(1) AG+ØTRANS	Type: funktsionirovat' (to function) shpionit' (to spy)
(2) AG+ØTRANS+COMP	popugaynichat' (to parrot)
(3) AG+ØTRANS+RES	kristallizovat' sya (to crystallize)
(4) AG+ TRANS+RES	programmirovat' (to program)
(5) AG+ TRANS+RES+DIVID	atomizirovat' (to atomize)
(6) AG+ØTRANS+ØINSTR+AD	ionizirovat' sya (to ionize$_1$)
(7) AG+ TRANS+ØINSTR+AD	ionizirovat' (to ionize$_2$)
(8) AG+ØTRANS+ØINSTR+SUBTR	obezvolet' (to lose one's will)
(9) AG+ TRANS+ØINSTR+SUBTR	obezvolit' (to deprive one of one's will)
(10) AG+ TRANS+INSTR	utyuzhit' (to iron)

7. *Morphemic structures*

(=morphemic realizations of individual configurations — for further details see Straková, forthcoming).

To sum up: the above-described semantic markers, presented here within the structural framework of individual configurations (each of the ten configurations represents a specific type of verb-semantics), were identified in data deriving from Slavonic languages (particularly Czech and

Russian). The semantic verb-types, however, are not restricted to the two languages under examination, but have a more general, universal range of incidence; they may also occur in other Slavonic and non-Slavonic languages. The most "universal" semes include the Resultative seme, the Instrumentative seme and the Comparative seme.

A detailed contrastive analysis of the derivation system of two (or more) languages (with the semantic components constituting the criterial basis of analysis) yields essential data for an exact derivation typology and, ultimately, for a comprehensive linguistic typology.

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ON THE TENABILITY OF THE NOTION 'PRAGMATIC EQUIVALENCE' IN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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I would like to address myself to the notion of pragmatic equivalence (PE) in contrastive analysis, which has recently been invoked more and more often (cf. e.g., Krzeszowski 1984, Oleksy 1984). Also Fillmore (1984) takes up the domain of contrastive pragmatics. Krzeszowski (1984: 7) suggests that PE be posited as Tertium Comparationis (TC), and simultaneously admits that:

> "Contrastive studies based on functional (pragmatic) equivalence require a separate extensive treatment as the number and the nature of elements which can be compared is as yet undetermined"

Oleksy (1984) says explicitly that PE is a crucial notion to be utilized in contrastive studies of language in use.[1] He further claims that the goal of contrastive analyses of language use is to establish whether or not linguistic expressions, one pertaining to L_1 and another to L_2, are pragmatically equivalent. Quoting Oleksy on this essential issue one gets the following:

> "A linguistic expression X_1L_1 is pragmatically equivalent to a linguistic expression X_2L_2 if both X_1 and X_2 can be used to perform the same speech act (SA) in L_1 and L_2" (1984:360).

An important aspect of Oleksy's definition is the singular of Speech *ACT*, as, making *act* plural — act*s* — would, in my opinion, totally change my present considerations. In this way, returning to Oleksy's formulated definition, I am ready to admit that such a formulation is defendable. That is, it seems fairly easy to claim that two linguistic expressions X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 potentially func-

[1] I would not like to be criticized at this point for talking about 'language use' as implying the dichotomy of 'language' and 'language use'. I think that distinguishing between the two is unnecessary. I only use the term 'language use' when I refer to Oleksy's ideas.

tion as "the same"[2] SA, for instance 'request'. Thus, if one hypothesizes that

"The lights are out" (X_1L_1) and
"Światło się nie świeci" (X_2L_2)

may, within the pragmatic sphere, serve as 'requests', a number of verifying techniques (e.g., intuition, introspection, report, questionnaire) will confirm the hypothesis. This manner of looking at pragmatic equivalence would seem justifiable were it not for at least two problems to which I will now turn.

Firstly, the question arises of where this kind of analysis leads us, or, of what purposes it serves. As I understand it, Oleksy's rendition of pragmatic equivalence across languages, may serve basically practical purposes very well. Naturally, Oleksy has got the right to nominally define pragmatic equivalence the way he does, for example for pedagogical purposes. What may create problems, however, is the usefulness of the notion of PE (again, according to Oleksy's interpretation) in linguistic analyses carried out with epistemological purposes in mind.

In connection with this I would like to claim that contrastive pragmatics as an approach toward language study, and, by extention, the notion of pragmatic equivalence, should be tackled relative to the goals defined by the researcher. Thus, practical goals (e.g., language teaching, translation, interpretation — as practical activities) ought to be clearly juxtaposed to theoretical goals, the latter implying the expounding of language. With reference to the former, Oleksy's rendition of PE seems tenable. That rendition allows for compiling lists of linguistic expressions in L_1 and L_2 which would typically correspond to each other in terms of their contextually conditioned pragmatic meaning. It follows that the English 'Shall we go?' in many contexts appears to correspond most often to the Polish 'No to chodzmy', the English 'Can you close the window' in many contexts corresponds to the German 'Du solltest das Fenster zumachen', etc. This kind of finding is no doubt valuable and useful for pedagogical and translational purposes. When, however, theoretical goals come to the fore reservations pertinent to PE become salient. Most of the rest of this paper will therefore be devoted to the notion of PE in analyses of a linguistic theoretical nature.

With the nominal definition of pragmatically equivalent linguistic expressions suggested by Oleksy (cf. p. 19), one will be led to conclude the following: Two linguistic expressions X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 are pragmatically equivalent to each other of they can perform a corresponding speech act, e.g., complain. Fair enough. But what about other acts? In other words, it seems to me that one has to raise the question of what other acts (in addition to the one corresponding) X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 can function as. No doubt X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 can be involved

[2] Oleksy has recently changed the formulation of "the same" into "the corresponding speech act" (personal communication).

in performing a number of *other* acts. Which of the *other* acts are still corresponding, and which are non-corresponding? What are the non-corresponding acts? How many speech acts do X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 have to potentially perform in order to be *really* pragmatically equivalent? If the answer to the last question is *all*, then the question should be posed of whether hypotheses such as "ALL the speech acts that X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 can perform are corresponding" are falsifiable. If the answer to the last question is *not all*, then obviously, what follows is the question of 'how many?'. If questions like those raised above are shunned, then I would claim, the notion of PE helps only a bit in describing *a very small fragment* of the linguistic universe, an extensively *larger* part of which *should* be attended to if language is to be expounded.

Secondly, PE as TC for contrastive analyses of language use will, I am afraid, be guilty of definitional circularity (Krzeszowski 1984).[3] That is, PE cannot serve as an independent criterion or reason (i.e., TC) for comparison if one seeks to establish whether or not two linguistic expressions are pragmatically equivalent, i.e., corresponding with reference to language use. Otherwise we deal with definitional circularity. What one needs for analyses at the pragmatic level are TCs standing outside pragmatic equivalence.[4] Consequently, pragmatic equivalence would not *motivate* but *result* from such analyses. One might want to ask at this point whether PE could be considered as a TC for non-pragmatic (formal, sematic) contrastive analyses. If so, definitional circularity would not be an issue. Such a state of affairs would require, however, that first of all, PE between X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 be established. With reference to this point, I will try to show how the PE in question can be established, in what follows.

I now want to return to some of the questions posed earlier. The definition of PE as a potential attributed to linguistic expressions for performing a corresponding speech act does not satisfy me, i.e., such a way of conceiving PE does not seem to contribute much to the understanding of linguistic phenomena. When we turn speech act (SA) into speech acts (SAs), which one would welcome, the definition itself becomes seemingly much more forceful.[5] According to the adjusted definition

"The lights are out" (X_1L_1) and
"Światło się nie świeci" (X_2L_2)

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[3] "We compare in order to see what is similar and what is different in the compared materials. We can only compare items which are in some respect similar, but we cannot use similarity as an independent criterion for deciding how to match items for comparison, since similarity (or difference) is to result from the comparison and not to 'motivate it'" (Krzeszowski 1984).

[4] I address myself to the more general question of Tertium Comparationis in contrastive sociolinguistics in a separate paper, Janicki (in press).

[5] The definiton in question would run as follows: A linguistic expression $X_1 L_1$ is pragmatically equivalent to a linguistic expression $X_2 L_2$ if both X_1 and X_2 can be used to perform corresponding speech *acts* in L_1 and L_2.

would be declared pragmatically equivalent if they can both be used to perform corresponding speech acts in L_1 and L_2. Logically, for X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 to be declared pragmatically equivalent, no identifiable speech act attributable to X_1L_1 could be found to be nonattributable to X_2L_2, and vice versa. What we are brought to consider now is the question of how and who declares two linguistic expressions to be utterances (tokens) exemplifying the same speech act (type). In other words we are finally led to wonder if and how the hypothesis that two linguistic expressions are pragmatically equivalent (not in Oleksy's sense) is falsifiable.

It is not unreasonable to contend that *any* linguistic expression can function as *any* SA, such as request, complaint, reprimand, etc. This is because speech act identification is a function of both verbal and non-verbal behavior. Also, as the highly intricate ways in which the verbal and the non-verbal channels interact to generate intended and interpreted meanings are only partly shared by current interlocutors, a lot of freedom remains for the encoding and decoding of pragmatic meaning. This claim will, I think, gain a significant amount of support from the prototype theory of the concept (Rosch 1977) and its semantic offspring.[6]

If one accepts the view that concepts are prototypes, and that meanings are concepts, what follows is that utterances, for the producing and understanding of which concepts are resorted to, involve prototype-related psycholinguistic activities. What I am trying to say is that the encoder and the decoder bring into interaction their own sets of concepts, relating to whatever they are talking about. Obviously, there is a great deal of similarity in the way the speaker and the hearer conceive the world, i.e., typically define concepts. However, one does not have to juxtapose speakers or hearers from very distant cultures in order to conclude also that, in addition to the similarity in question, a great deal of discrepancy is also present between the speaker and the hearer. This is so particularly because concepts (and thus meanings) get continually redefined thoughout the lifetime of the individual, and upon individual encounters.

What seems to corroborate the existence if concept discrepancies even among people who are culturally very close is the phenomenon of misunderstanding. I believe that we misunderstand close associates and relatives because we differ permamently or temporarily in our typical images (definitions) of even such basic concepts as friendship, argument, excursion, etc. The fact that we often misunderstand each other (being aware of it or not) can also be

[6] The prototype theory of the concept claims that concepts are typical images typical descriptions — prototypes of whatever they refer to (Rosch 1977). The theory (as opposed to the checklist theories) allows for speakers to judge the *degree* of membership of an object (material or immaterial) in a concept category. Hudson (1980) claims that meanings are concepts. The claim seems to be very well corroborated by Coleman and Kay's (1981) analysis of the English word 'lie'.

explained by the prototype theory of the concept, as the theory allows a great deal of freedom in assigning border-line cases to concept categories.[7]

Let me now bring it all back into line with my previous discussion of PE. The reader is reminded that lists of speech acts differentiated by numerous authors vary in length and speech act categories included. This, I think is at least partly because SA identification as a psycholinguistic activity involves taking recourse to an enormous number of concepts, which, being prototypes, allow a lot of freedom in interpretation. In connection with this, one should remember that no matter how much background information the outside observer (linguistic researcher) will have, he will never have access to all the relevant prototypes involved in encoding and decoding language upon interaction between others. Those prototypes, some of which get continually redefined, are, to an extent, endemic to the individual, as they are learned throughout the unique lifetime of the individual.

Taking into account the potential gap that exists between the speaker's intention (relating to one set of concepts) and the hearer's interpretation (relating to another set of concepts) we should be led to the conclusion that what hearer A will decode as a threat, hearer B may decode as a warning, hearer C as a command, hearer D will assign to the expression a partial membership in one of the three categories, and hearer E will remain utterly nonplussed and undecided.[8]

Even if one accepts the extreme view that, with the interpretational freedom available to interactants, any linguistic expression can function as any SA under felicitous pragmatic conditions, the linguist has to address himself to the question of how linguistic expressions[9] *differ* in respect to the pragmatic meaning that they come to express. In other words, although

a. "Can I talk to you now?" and b. "It's almost five" (=It's almost five, you know I have to go at five, and you know I really need to talk to you; can I talk to you now?)

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[7] Some independent support for the present argument comes from Trudgill (1983).

[8] Let me reflect on the hearer E category; it often happens that under some circumstances we react to simple utterances such as 'It is going to rain tomorrow' in ways such as 'I have absolutely no idea what he really meant', 'Did he mean just to tell me?', 'Did he mean to warn me?', 'Did he mean to suggest something?', etc. In such cases the hearer is left to identify for himself the utterrance in functiona lterms as any speech act that he wishes.

[9] I adhere here to Oleksy's terminology — 'linguistic expressions' — which I realize could be criticized, but I find it innocuous from the point of view of the purposes of the present argument to retain the term.

may both function as 'requests', they clearly differ in at least two ways:

1. the frequency of occurrence whereupon either expresses a request, and

2. the pragmatic context[10] in which they appear to express 'request'.

It follows that looking for pragmatic equivalence in merely qualitative terms (i.e., stating which linguistic expressions can function for example as 'request') does not make much sense. For PE to become meaningful 1 and 2 have to be attended to in a definite manner.

1. will lead to quantitative analyses for the carrying out of which, variable rules have to be resorted to. 2, though in conjunction with 1 will create the real problem. This is because, for the pragmatic context of both X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 to be defined, a theory of linguistic pragmatics has to be addressed. I want to claim then, that the existence of a pragmatic linguistic theory is a prerequisite for the meaningfulness of PE. Only such a theory can define the number and the nature of relevant elements to be compared (cf. Krzeszowski's quotation on p. 19). Thus, only then will it become possible to advance hypotheses concerning pragmatic meaning, i.e., only then could the pragmatic context for X_1L_1 and X_2L_2, expressing for example 'request', be meaningfully defined. It needs to be remembered at this point that any pragmalinguistic theory must incorporate the fact that meaning is generated on the basis of prototype-concepts some of which get continually redefined, and which allow for interpretational freedom.

Conclusions

A. The tenability of the notion of pragmatic equivalence in contrastive analysis should be viewed against the goals set forth by the researcher.

B. For practical purposes (e.g., foreign language teaching, translation) the notion is both defendable and useful. For PE to be tenable in analyses striving to account for the intricasies of language (=theoretical purposes), an explicitly formulated pragmalinguistic theory has to be resorted to. Such a theory, as yet nonexistent, would have to pertain not only to verbal behavior but also to what various researchers have referred to as paralanguage, kinesic behavior, proxemic behavior, haptic behavior, etc. Such a theory would also have to recognize the presence of fuzziness in pertinent phenomena.

C. If my reasoning expressed in B above is correct, then the existence if PE between X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 could be taken to mean that X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 can function as a corresponding speech act *in comparable contexts*. It is exactly for the

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[10] Pragmatic context' should be undertsood here as including *any* pragmatic element relevant to the encoding and decoding of pragmatic meaning, The ultimate meaning of 'context' will have to be defined by a particular theory adopted.

defining of the comparable contexts that we need a pragmalinguistic theory.

D. The way PE is viewed in C above will hopefully allow us to go beyond what one can say about X_1L_1 and X_2L_2 now (if I am right in my conclusion), namely that any linguistic expression can function as any speech act, which I take to be an uninteresting finding.

E. PE cannot be used as TC for pragmatic contrastive analyses as then, definitional circularity would be involved.

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ON THE RELEVANCE OF PHONETIC, PHONOLOGICAL, AND MORPHONOLOGICAL LEVELS IN CONTRASTIVE PHONOLOGY

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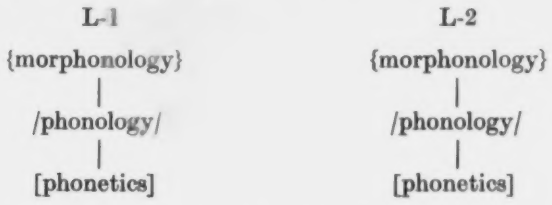
Discussing theoretical problems of contrastive phonology it has first of all to be made clear which kind of contrastive phonology is meant. There are, I believe, two basically different types of contrastive phonological investigation. The difference between the two is made up by two different targets they aim at. On the one hand, the phonological systems of two or more languages may be contrasted when doing research in the realm of language typology, i.e. looking for universal processes and features. Within this can be demonstrated how phonetic patterns are derived from more abstract levels. It will be investigated which segments, processes, and features are involved proceeding from a most abstract, perhaps morphonological level, possibly over a less abstract phonological one to a least abstract phonetic level, both in a first language L-1 and in a second language L-2 (cf. diagram below).



The striking point in this way of contrasting the sound systems of two languages with each other is that both languages play the same role, that is to say that each level of language L-1 is of the same importance as the corresponding level of language L-2. This again results from the aim of the comparison: if it is not done for its own sake, then in order to deliver insights in universal aspects of sound patterns on the data of two languages.

But it is not this type of contrastive phonology that will be dealt with in the following.

The second type is a contrastive phonology in the area if phonic interference (which of course may also deliver insights to universal aspects of sound patterns). Already the notion of interference hints at the crucial difference to the kind of contrastive phonology mentioned before. In a comparison of this type the two languages involved do play different roles. One language has to play the "active part", that is, it will be the interfering one. The other takes over the passive part. It is the one that suffers the interference.

The effects of one language L-2 interfering in another language L-1 can be observed in data of two different kinds: firstly, on the basis of defective pronunciation of language L-1 by native speakers of L-2; secondly, on the basis of phonic developments that loan words from L-1 undergo when being assimilated by L-2. It is a well known fact, that similar sound substitutions can be observed in the two subkinds of language contact.

Coming now to the main point, i.e. to the relevance of phonetic, phonological, and morphonological levels in contrastive phonology under the aspect of phonic interference, Polish will be the interfering language L-2 and German the language suffering interference L-1. What will be discussed is which levels of which of the two languages are involved in the perception and reproduction of German, mainly on the basis of perception and reproduction of the German uvular R-sound by native-speakers of Polish, looking for further evidence within German loan words in Polish.

When doing research in the perception of German sounds by native-speakers of Polish from October 1982 to August 1983 at the Jagiellonian University of Cracow, I had the chance to observe how the back German R-sound is perceived and reproduced. Several informants were asked to repeat 15 syllables with an initial R, the 15 German monophthong vowels always once in the middle and the consonant [t] at the end. The initial R-sound was either an uvular fricative [ʁ] or a frictionless [ʁ̞]. The German voice delivering the examples to be repeated used both sounds as facultative variants, in few cases coming out near to the uvular vibrant [R]. The impact of this phonetic variance on the perception data must be examined more thoroughly.

The following observations could be made in the reproduction of these syllables by the informants:

One frequent substitution for German uvular R was the velar fricative [x] as in Polish ⟨chód⟩ or the palatal fricative [ç] as in the Polish name for "China" ⟨Chiny⟩, or even the H-sound [h] that may substitute for both of the former sounds as a local or individual variety.

A second very frequent substitution was — most strikingly to me — a sound near to the British English R-sound as in English ⟨row⟩, i.e. the voiced, frictionless, post-alveolar [ɹ]. Sometimes this was accompanied by a more or less dis-

tinct vibration (in fewer cases friction), but clearly a far more back one, than in normal Polish R-articulation.

Not so frequent was an articulation of the normal Polish apical R as well as an acceptable imitation of German back R.

There was at least no obvious influence of the following vowel, but this again will be examined more closely on another occasion.

Without going into detail, what has happened in the substitution mentioned is presumably the following: Substitution of the German back R-sound by an uvular fricative [χ], a palatal fricative [ç] or by an H-sound indicates the interpretation of German back R as an allophone of a back fricative phoneme /x/ like the one to be observed in the Polish phonological system. Furthermore, that it was not just the articulatory base or the physiological inability resulting from an unfamiliar movement of the speech organs that made the native-speakers of Polish articulate [x] for [ʁ] is confirmed by the question I was asked by almost all of my informants. Namely, whether there was a [x], the velar fricative, or an R-sound at the beginning if the test words, which definitely indicates that there is a phonological misinterpretation behind this substitution. Especially this substitution makes clear, that it is the phonetic data of German and not its phonological system that was taken under account in the reproduction efforts of my Polish informants.

This is, in the one hand, nothing more than understandable, because informants without knowledge of the German language (and that was the case for all but one of my people) have absolutely no idea about the phonological relations of German. On the other hand, this means that the linguistic investigator has to take into account first of all the phonetic data of a given foreign language L-1, when trying to find out what difficulties might arise for native -speakers of a mother language L-2 learning L-1.

In other words, the input into Trubetzkoy's 'Sieb' (to use the German word) of a mother-language L-2 has to be the phonetics of the foreign language L-1. Phonological regularities of the foreign language L-1 are important only when investigating in how far an interference-marred pronunciation of that language L-1 disturbs communication in L-1. Strictly speaking, in contrast to the phonetic data of L-1, they are irrelevant for finding out perception and reproduction difficulties encountered by native-speakers of L-2.

Obviously the phonetic data of German allowed a second interpretation of back German R, namely as a member of an /r/ — phoneme, similar to the Polish one. This can be said without any doubts when the German sound in discussion was reproduced in the form of the normal Polish apical vibrant [r] or as a uvular fricative [ʁ], near to acceptable German articulation, which is for some native-speakers of Polish an individual realization of the Polish /r/-phoneme. All of my informants, however, realized the Polish /r/-phoneme as an apical vibrant.

The substitution by an R-sound similar to an RP-English one may seem somewhat strange. On the one hand I have no doubt that this substitution gives clear evidence for an interpretation of back German R as /r/ phonologically, because the absence of friction does not allow an interpretation as a velar fricative /x/. A further argument for this can be that vibration occasionally cooccured when a sound was produced at this place of articulation.

On the other hand according to the principles of Natural Phonology, as is formulated by Stampe (1973) and Donegan(1978), this substitution may indicate a compromise status of British and American post-alveolar R-sounds of the type mentioned in comparison to apical and uvular R-sounds. We can call it a compromise status in the sense that an uvular R-sound in articulatory terms is more distinct from any known L-sound than apical R-sound is, leaving for example RP-English R in the middle. Obviously this compromise type of R is the most back non-fricatve continuant — apart from the glide [j] — that native-speakers of Polish could accept as a member of an /r/-phoneme, trying to articulate it in a maximally back position.

Having underlined the primary relevance of the phonetic level of the foreign language when trying to foresee or explain the phonic interference by a mother-language, I will now discuss which levels of the latter, in our case Polish, are of importance in this context.

The alternation between — phonetically speaking — Polish [r] and the fricative [ž] (unvoiced [š]) has to be considered as a part of the competence of any native-speaker of Polish. Synchronically, this alternation can be explained when morphological facts are taken into account, e.g. by deriving both sounds from one segment of an abstract morphonological level. For the occurrence of that type of fricative sound without alternation like in Polish ⟨rzeka⟩ "river" a further morphonological segment {ř} could be postulated (cf. Pohl 1980:359f). Thus distinguishing [ž]/[š]-fricatives, which historically developed from a palatalized R-sound over a Czech-type [ř]/⟨ř⟩ from fricatives [ž]/[š] that — roughly speaking — always have been fricatives of this kind throughout the history of the Polish Language, different behaviour of the two superficially identical fricative sounds may be explained. But obviously this morphonological level of the competence of Polish native-speakers does not play any role in the perception and reproduction of German speech sounds. There was no [ž]-fricative among the substitutions for German back R. This corresponds to the distinction in Natural Phonology of rules and processes, where rules like the [r]/[ż] alternation do not represent constraints on pronunciation, whereas processes that are unsuppressed in a living language do. Furthermore it seems to be obvious that learners of foreign languages do not transfer alternation rules of the type cited above from their mother-language to the foreign one. I have neither heard of any case that a German learning Polish has for instance transferred the umlaut-alternations of German to Polish nor of a native-speaker

of Polish transferring the various types of sound alternations of his mother-language to his potential foreign language German.

In my opinion, it has to be explained by the linguists that a speaker of a mother-language L-2 is able to master the pronunciation of a foreign language L-1, at least to some degree even at the very moment of the first encounter with L-1, as phenomena of a foreign-language competence. The morphonological component of the competence in a given mother language seems to be of no importance for the "competence" of a native-speaker of this language in a given foreign language.

But why is this so? Why do native-speakers of a mother language generally transfer phonological but not morphonological regularities from that mother language to a given foreign one. Of course, as the Natural Phonologists put it, the former are acquired by suppressing certain natural phonological processes, they are not acquired cognitively (Donegan 1978:5). Morphonological alternations are learned without encountering pronunciation difficulties. But there seems to be no discrete classification of phonological and morphonological rules (cf. Dressler 1977:11f). but the gradual transition between the two groups cannot be discussed here.

The decisive point obviously is that in the application of a morphonological alternation rule the component of meaning is involved as well. If we take a German example ⟨Ball⟩ "ball, dancing party", it is the phoneme /e/ only in combination with the meaning "nominative plural" that causes umlaut ⟨Bälle⟩, whereas /e/ in combination with "dative singular" does not: ⟨Balle⟩. Although a naive speaker of a language does not know that sound-meaning relations are in principle arbitrary, he does know that these relations are different in another language, because otherwise he would understand that language. This seems to be a basic, though probably unconscious assumption about foreign languages, which prevents a speaker from applying morphologically conditioned phonological rules of his mother language when trying to express himself in the foreign language. Dressler (1977), who rejects an independent morphonological component, defines a morphonological rule as a phonological rule that is automatically linked to morphological rules. The result of such a rule cosignalizes, as Dressler calls it, morphological data, data, in other words, that imply information about meaning in a broader sense. It is this automatic link between sound alternation and elements of meaning that is seemingly not transferred to foreign languages under the cited presumption that sound-meaning relations in foreign languages are on the whole different from the ones in the mother language. This holds even when things in mother and foreign language are accidentally very much alike. As in German, there is in Polish the French loan word ⟨bal⟩ "dancing party", which also takes an E-sound i.e. [ɛ] as a marker for nominative plural. Nevertheless, a native-speaker of German pronouncing the Polish plural form as [*bɛlɛ] has not yet been reported. At least as far as

foreign language acquisition is concerned, there seems to be much evidence that morphological rules play no rule in the phonic interference by a mother language.

Considering the relations of phonological invariants to phonetic variants as an aspect of competence, it has to be mentioned on the data of the observed substitutions that the competence in a foreign language is not identical to the competence in a given mother language, although the former is decisively determined by the latter. Foreign language competence seems rather to be a special aspect of universal speech ability.

In the competence of native-speakers of Polish in the German language the relation of some phonological-type R-element with a phonetic R-element that is very similar to a British post-alveolar continuant [ɹ] seems to exist; at least as a kind of approximation to back German R. Incidentally, this substitution was observed equally with people without knowledge of English as with people knowing some English.

Summing up the above considerations, it can be stated that trying to foresee or to explain — on strictly phonic data — pronunciation difficulties or mistakes in foreign languages, the following has to be taken into account:

firstly: the *phonetic* pattern of a given foreign language as the input to perception procedures of native-speakers of a given mother language;

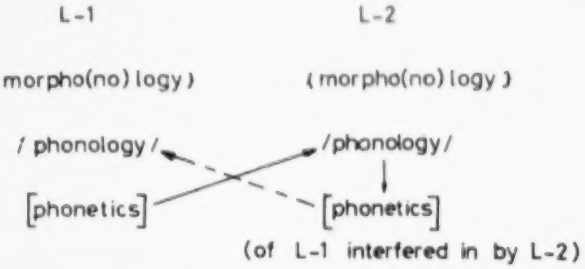
secondly: the *phonological* level of the given mother language — in the sence of Natural Phonology — and its relations to segments of the phonetic level; this component has to be considered the filter to the above mentioned input, determining the output, which is the pronunciation of a foreign language interfered in by the mother language;

and possibly,

thirdly: the perception of this output by native-speakers of the foreign language, i.e. how the interference-marred pronunciation of the foreign language is filtered by the phonological system of the same (foreign) language.

This third step is strictly speaking not an instance of interference of a given mother-language in a certain foreign language, but the last consequence in the communicative chain that Weinreich (1953) called double interference, a process that might be illustrated as: a speaker of L-1 pronouncing [A], a speaker of L-2 perceiving and reproducing it as [B], and again the speaker of L-1 perceiving [C].

The arrows in the diagram below illustate the relevant levels of a contrastive phonology in the area of phonic interefrence, at least when aspects of foreign language learning are concerned.



This model has certainly to be modified for the description of loan words from L-1 in L-2. Firstly, under historical aspects the morphonological component of L-2 might achieve relevance, for example when we consider Polish ⟨reszta⟩ stemming from German ⟨Rest⟩ and ⟨rzesza⟩ from German ⟨Reich⟩. In this context the relevance of the morpholonogical component may be considered as evidence for a higher degree of assimilation. Secondly, when we take an example of the Polish [r]-[ž] alternation in a loan word, e.g. ⟨komputer⟩ vs. ⟨komputerze⟩ "computer, nominative sing. " — "locative sing.", it becomes clear that the phonic interference of one language L-2 in another L-1 in loan words of L-2 borrowed from L-1 is at least in one respect different from the phonic interference of L-2 in L-1 in the acquisition of L-1 by native speakers of L-2. Logically sound substitutions in loan words from L-1 in L-2 can be observed in utterances in L-2, whereas sound substitutions caused by the phonological pattern of L-2 in the interference-marred pronunciation of L-1 are to be observed only within utterances in L-1. While in the latter case morphonological rules of L-2 have no impact on the sound substitutions, as demonstrated above, they obviously do in the former.

In other words, a contrastive phonology as far as second language acquisition is considered can in general do without the degree of abstractness that Generative Phonology has reached. Absolute neutralization and even contextual neutralization when based on morphological conditions in the understanding of Kiparsky's "How abstract is phonology?" seem to be of no importance.

When the first investigations in contrastive phonology were undertaken, they were greeted enthusiastically, as contrastive studies in other areas were, because of their promising prospects, that more efficient language learning would soon be possible. But in the early 70s a certain disillusionment was already to be observed with teachers stating a whole mass of substitutions in the acquisition of foreign pronunciation which linguistic the-

oreticians did not mention at all or dismissed as individual mistakes. The newest study of that kind, as far as the Polish interference in German sound patterns is concerned, is Predota's "Die polnisch-deutsche Interferenz im Bereich der Aussprache." (1979).

This disillusionment, that is the failure of linguists in explaining phonic substitutions, mistakes, difficulties, and so on in foreign language learning, clearly results from a concentration on phonological facts both in the interfering mother language and in the foreign one which is interfered. Phonetic data, acoustic, physiological-articulatory, and auditive, were widely neglected. No such contrastive study could explain the perception and reproduction of German uvular R as [x], [ç] or [h]. A more phonetically concentrated, feature and process orientated phonological theory, e.g. that of Natural Phonology in the version of Stampe and Donegan, will doubtlessly be able to do, observing the fact that in Dutch and Flemish, for example, the /r/-phoneme is frequently realized as a velar fricative (Göschel 1971:110).

Nor would a traditional contrastive phonology account for the reproduction of back German R as a British-type post-alveolar continuant [ɹ] by native-speakers of Polish that do not know any English. Without going into the details of a natural phonology of liquids I think it worth mentioning, that the place of articulation of the British-type R-sound and the fricative [ž], where the development of former Polish palatalized [r'] ended, are very near to each other. Furthermore, when this British-type R was ariticulated by my informants with a cooccurrence of vibration or, less often, friction, a Czech-type [γ] seemed to be near.

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THE PRAGMATICS OF DEIXIS IN ENGLISH AND POLISH

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1. The aim of this paper is to examine some properties of deixis in English and Polish. Since natural languages are primarily designed for use in face-to-face interaction (cf. Lyons 1977:637), one cannot conceive of a linguistic analysis disregarding deixis which, as Levinson (1983:54) puts it:

> "... concerns the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance".

The traditional deictic categories are person, place and time. These have been complemented by Fillmore (1975) with discourse and social deixis. Due to an egocentric organization of deixis, the relevant expressions are anchored to specific points in the communicative event, thus the unmarked anchorage points which constitute the deictic centre are typically the following:

a) the central (first) person is the speaker; second person encodes the speaker's reference to one or more addressees, while third person constitutes the encoding of reference to persons being neither speakers nor addressees;

b) the central time is the time at which the speaker produces the utterance;

c) the central place in the speaker's location at utterance time or coding time (CT);

d) the discourse centre is the point which the speaker is currently at in the production of his utterance;

e) the social centre is the speaker's social status or rank, to which the status and rank of addressees or referents are relative, cf. Levinson (1983:63-4), following Fillmore (1975).

2. The topic of deictic (or indexical) expressions has been traditionally related to the analysis of natural language propositions, such as:

1. Letizia de Ramolino was the mother of Napoleon

According to the advocates of truth-conditional semantics the truth conditions of 1. would be due to the specification of the circumstances under which it would be true (in this case, the identity of reference of Letizia de Ramolino with the actual mother of Napoleon), cf. Levinson (1983:55).

Much of the philosophical interest in the area has boiled down to reducing all indexical expressions to a single primary one, cf. Russell's attempts to translate all indexicals into expressions containing a demonstrative *this*. However, there were sound arguments to the contrary (Bar-Hillel 1970:77-8; Lyons 1977:639-46). Vivid discussions on deixis have also concerned philosophers and logicians who viewed context as a set of pragmatic indices for speakers, addressees, times of utterance, places of utterance, indicated objects, etc. Sentences could then express different propositions on different occasions of use, cf. Montague (1974), Scott (1970), and others.

Be that as it may, while deixies has been widely disputed in philosophy and logic, the relevant linguistic studies are still scanty. As is noticed by Levinson in one of the latest works on pragmatics available (1983:61), there has been little descriptive work on deixies, let alone the deficiencies of possible frameworks of linguistic analyses. The only significant works in the field are Fillmore (1975), Lyons (1977:ch.15) and Levinson (1983:ch.2). The situation is even more dramatic in contrastive analysis where, to the best of my knowledge, a single article can be mentioned, i.e. Faerch's (1980) account of deixis in Danish and English[1] presented within the interpretative semantics model (Jackendoff 1972).

3. Consequently, in an attempt to fill this gap the present paper aims at signalling some discrepancies between the distribution of selected indexical expressions in English and Polish. For the reasons of brevity, the scope of the analysis will comprise only two demonstrative pronouns, i.e. *this/that* and their Polish equivalents, It is hoped that the limits set upon this study will not affect its primary goal, i.e. demonstrating to what extent certain pragmatic factors determine deixis in two natural languages, which might stimulate some more detailed, cross-linguistic investigations, The semanto-pragmatic framework adopted for the present purposes does not seem to need much justification. I take it after Lyons (1977) and Levinson (1983) that deixis mainly belongs within the domain of pragmatics because it directly con-

[1] See also an article on forms of address in the army (Jaworski 1982). Despite some revealing observations on social deixis made in this study important generalizations are missed since the analysis is restricted to Polish data only.

cerns the relationship between the structure of languages and the contexts in which they are used. It is admitted, however, that because pragmatics concerns those aspects of meaning and language-structure that cannot be captured in a truth-conditional semantics, the grammatical category of deixis will probably be found to straddle the semantics/pragmatics border (cf. Levinson (1983:55)).

There is a second, primarily linguistic and probably the most important reason justifying the selection of *this/that* pair for our analysis. They are, by far, the most universal of all indexicals, as the proximal/distal dichotomy represented by them cuts across all deictic categories of person, place, time, discourse and social deixis, cf. below.

Finally, it has to be noted that the systematization of contrasts between *this/that* and their Polish equivalents could be of some pedagogical value, as the problem seems crucial in the area of teaching English as a second language. It has been pointed out to me by some native speakers of English that there must be something peculiar about the distribution of *this* vs. *that*, as opposed to their Polish equivalents, which is the source of numerous mistakes made by Polish learners even at an advanced level. My investigations of the relevant data have resulted in a contention to the effect that the proximal/distal distinction represented in English by *this/that*, respectively, is to a large extent neutralized in Polish, except for some clearly defined contexts.

4. Let us start the analysis from the most common uses of *this* and *that* referring to proximate and distal objects (or persons), respectively. In such contexts they are labelled demonstrative adjectives, cf.:

2. This paper is below any standard
2′. Ten referat jest poniżej jakiegokolwiek poziomu
3. That presentation has been very poor
3′. Tamto wystąpienie było bardzo kiepskie
4. These remarks are not to the point
4′. Te uwagi są nie na temat
5. Those conferences were better
5′ Tamte konferencje były lepsze

The adduced examples reveal a comparable distribution of English demonstrative adjectives (in their singular and plural forms) and of their Polish equivalents. It is worth noting that even if we introduce, after Fillmore (1975:42) and Levinson (1983:65—66), the distinction between gestural, symbolic and non-deictic uses of *this* and *that*, it will have no bearing upon the present observations, cf. 6—8 and 6′—8′:

6. This drink is too warm
6′. Ten drink jest za ciepły } — gestural use

7. This country is beyond description
7′. Ten kraj jest nie do opisania
— symbolic use

8. I met this weird girl the other day
8′. Spotkałam tę dziwną dziewczynę pewnego dnia
— non-deictic use

As to the non-deictic uses of Polish proximal demonstratives *ten/ta/to* (representing the masculine, feminine and neuter gender, respectively), they can frequently be encountered in colloquial Polish where they play an emphatic function, particularly in connection with the 'historical present". It goes without saying that such a constant repetition of the demonstratives gives the impression of a substandard, or at least, stylistically marked speech, cf.:

9. ??Ja to sama nie bardzo wiem, o co tej dziewczynie z tym facetem chodziło, jak sprzedawali ten samochód
9′. *I don't know it myself what this girl and this guy were up to when they were selling this car
10. I ten kelner przynosi ten francuski szampan i ta kobieta przy tym drugim stoliku podchodzi...
10′. ?And this waiter brings this French champagne and this woman at the other table comes over...

Note that while 9—9′ sound almost equally bad in Polish and English, respectively, 10—10′ are slightly better since they employ the 'historical present' in the description of past events.[2]

The situation gets markedly different in ostensive uses of *this/that* and their Polish equivalents in what might be called introductions. Here the distinction between proximal and distal demonstratives is neutralized in Polish to the effect that *to* takes over the functions of both *this* and *that*. Note the impossibility of using *ten/ta* with masculine and feminine nouns, respectively (cf. 11′′) and the ungrammaticality of the examples with *tamto* (12′).

11. This is my father/grandma/flat
11′. To jest mój ojciec/moja babcia/moje mieszkanie
11′′. *Ten jest mój ojciec/*Ta jest moja babcia
12. That is my father/grandma/flat
12′. *Tamto jest mój ojciec/babcia/mieszkanie

Note that the use if *tamto* might be possible only in sentences *like*:

13. Tamten mężczyzna jest moim ojcem[3],

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[2] On the distribution of demonstrative pronouns in Polish, cf. Pisarkowa (1969) and Fisiak, et al. (1978).

[3] *Tamten jest moim ojcem* 'That is my father' would be possible in extremely limited contrastive contexts where the source sentence would be 13. with *mężczyzna* deleted due to some previous mention, e.g.:

Popatrz na tych dwóch mężczyzn. Ten jest moim kuzynem, a tamten jest moim ojcem.

i.e. analogous to the examples 2′—5′ representing a distinct use of demonstratives.

It follows from our data so far that the proximal/distal dichtomy is marked by both languages only in case of demonstrative adjectives. However, in ostensive uses of demonstrative pronouns English preserves the distinction between *this* and *that*, while it gets neutralized in Polish, so that *to* ('this') is exclusively employed.

As has been noted above, the contrast represented by *this* and *that* cuts across all deictic categories. Apart from person deixis it is worth considering now to what extent the present remarks concern place and time deixis. Our observations seem to extend to these categories as well, i.e. while the demonstrative-adjective use allows both *to* and *tamto* (cf. 14′—17′), in ostensive contexts Polish exclusively employs the proximal *to*, (cf. 18′—20′):

14. This place is excellent
14′. To miejsce jest doskonałe
15. That location of our camping site should be reconsidered
15′. Tamto usytuowanie naszego campingu powinno być ponownie rozważone
16. I want to see you this Friday[4]
16′. Chcę cię zobaczyć w ten piątek
17. That Saturday was awful
17′. Tamta sobota była okropna[5]
18. This is a good seat
18′. To jest dobre miejsce
19. That was a fascinating city
19′. *Tamto było fascynujące miasto
20. That was time for work, and this is time for rest
20′. *Tamto był czas na pracę, a to jest czas na odpoczynek
To (Wtedy)

Consequently, Polish seems to allow for the proximal/distal contrast to be grammaticalized only if the relevant demonstrative pronouns play the role of adjectives, i.e. nominal modifiers. However, if they occur in sentence-initial position and are not followed by a noun, they naturally perform the function of a subject, analogous to that of pro-subject *it* in English. This observation is

[4] I disregard here the distinct interpretations of *this Friday* conditioned by the fact on which day of the week the phrase is uttered, cf. Fillmore (1975 46) for a more thorough analysis of this issue. The discrepancies between English and Polish which might arise in such cases would not have any bearing upon the present remarks.

[5] Naturally, the occurrence of *that* and *tamta* triggers the use of a past tense form of the verb in both languages.

corroborated by the fact that the Polish equivalent of *this*, i.e. *to*, required in such contexts, is simultaneously the equivalent of English *it*. Hence, it might be conjectured that such uses of English *this/that* and Polish *to* are not fully demonstrative but simply neutral, which will lead to a significant generalization that Polish maintains the proximal/distal distinction only in purely deictic contexts; otherwise the problem of distance from the discourse center becomes immaterial.

The significance of the neutral use of *that* in English has been stressed by Lyons (1977:651):

> "When *that* is employed in its deictically neutral sense as a referring expression it gives the addressee no information about the referent other than the fact that it is an entity rather than a place; and it would be natural to suppose that the form *that* would be unstressed in these circumstances and its utterance would not be accompanied by a paralinguistic gesture pointing to the entity in question".

Thus, according to Lyons, *That nice* will mean either 'The entity not near me is nice' or 'The entity (whose location is unspecified) is nice' (ibid.).

The neutral sense of demonstratives is directly related to what Lyons calls 'impure textual deixis', where they function between **anaphora** and deixis. Both *this* and *that* may be used deictically to refer not only to objects and persons and to linguistic entities of various kinds in the text and co-text, but also to refer to past, present and future events. Hence, in 21 *that* might refer to the proposition expressed by the sentence uttered by X or to the utterance-act (or speech-act):

21. X: I've never seen him
    Y: That's a lie[4] (Lyons 1977:668)

Note that while the borderline case between anaphora and deixis is grammaticalized in English by means of distal *that*, its Polish equivalent would, again, employ the proximal *to*, cf. the unacceptability of the b. example with *tamto*:

21'. X: Nigdy go nie widziałam
     Y:a. To kłamstwo
       b. *Tamto kłamstwo

The present examples constitute further support to our claim that while the distribution of English demonstratives *this/that* encompasses not only deictic but also neutral and non-deictic uses, in Polish the corresponding forms are allowed only in purely deictic contexts; otherwise, a single demonstrative *to* is employed.

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[4] The use of *this* in impure textual deixis is not exemplified here for the obvious reason that it will be rendered in Polish by means of *to*, thus no contrast will be observable.

Having tackled textual deixis, the analysis cannot possibly omit the issues of discourse and social deixis which might offer some particularly revealing data relevant to the present study. Discourse deixis has to do with the choice of lexical or grammatical elements which indicate or otherwise refer to some portion or aspect of the ongoing discourse, e.g. *the former* vs. *the latter* (Fillmore 1975:70). The demonstratives *this* and *that* can also be used to refer to an immediately preceding or following portion of the discourse (cf. above). Hence, with *this* one of the participants knows what is being referred to, but the other does not; and with *that* it is assumed that both the encoder and the decoder know what is being talked about, e.g.:

22. I met a friend of yours last night. This guy told me some interesting things about you.
23. Remember the man who sold us the football tickets?
Well, that guy told me...

According to Fillmore, (ibid.), also forward- and backward- pointing demonstratives are similarly distinguished because while one would normally say:

24. This is my explanation

before it is given, he would utter 25. afterwards:

25. That was my explanation

Let us consider the distribution of Polish demonstratives in the equivalent sentences:

22′. Spotkałam twojego kolegę wczoraj wieczorem. Ten facet powiedział mi kilka interesujących rzeczy o tobie.
23′. Pamiętasz tego człowieka, który sprzedał nam bilety na mecz piłkarski?
Hm, ?tamten facet powiedział mi...
ten

It must be noted that although *tamten* cannot be excluded in 23′. *ten* would be preferred in most Polish dialects. Further examples clarify the situation. As might be expected, 24′ poses no problems, since English *this* is rendered as *to*. However, in 25′ the difference in meaning is signalled solely by tense, the demonstrative being the same as in 24′:

24′. To jest moje wyjaśnienie
25′. {To / *Tamto} było moje wyjaśnienie

The unacceptability of 25′ employing *tamto* may be due to the fact that in Polish the discourse distance, involving in this case both place and time, is incorporated in the form of the verb.

Some words have to be said about the relation between locative anaphoric *here/there* and *this* vs. *that*. Consider the following examples:

26. I was born in London and I have lived {here / there} all my life
27. I was born in London and {this / that} is where I lived all my life
26′. Urodziłam się w Londynie i mieszkam {tu / tam} całe życie
27′. Urodziłam się w Londynie i oto gdzie mieszkam całe życie

As can be seen, in English *here* and *there* are replaced by *this* and *that*, respectively. However, Polish does not allow for such a substitution. The only demonstrative that could occur in contexts of this kind is *oto*. Since it is a contextual variant of *to* (though much more restricted in its distribution), our hypothesis gets further support.

Finally, to complete the picture some attention should be paid to social deixis, i.e., as Fillmore (1976:75) defines it:

> "The study of that aspect of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs. In language these are: the devices for person marking, the ways of separating speech levels (—), the various ways in which names, titles and kinship terms vary in form and usage according to the relationship among the speaker, the addressee, and the audience (—)".

One of the examples of social deixis is attention-calling which is carried out in different ways depending upon whether a person with whom one wishes to establish person-deictic anchoring is known or not and whether the discourse is polite or impolite. *This* is one of those tricky words that switch roles between assertions and questions, e.g. used in a telephone conversation 28 means 'I am Harry Brown', whereas 29 means 'Are you Harry Brown?':

28. This is Harry Brown
29. Is this Harry Brown? (American English)
Is that Harry Brown? (British English)

As can easily be predicted, both Polish equivalents employ *to*:

28′. *To Harry Brown/? To mówi Harry Brown/Tu Harry Brown
29′. Czy to Harry Brown?

Note, however, that in 28′ the use of *to* requires the insertion of a verb, so that *To mówi Harry Brown* is obtained, i.e. 'This is Harry Brown speaking'. Since its distribution is extremely limited (to contrastive contexts only), it has been marked as questionable (pragmatically odd). The best rendition of 28 in Polish would be *Tu Harry Brown* 'Harry Brown here'.

Finally, if the speaker takes his own, egocentric point of view, social deixis requires the use of *this*, whereas if the interlocutor's perspective is taken into account, *that* is employed. Thus pointing to the dentist your sore tooth you say 30 and 31, respectively:

30. It's this one
31. It's that one

Incidentally, in gestural uses of demonstratives, as has been noted above, the distinction is also valid in Polish:

30′. Mam chory ząb. To ten. 'I have a sore tooth. It's this one'
31′. Mam chory ząb. To tamten. 'I have a sore tooth. It's that one.'

5. It may be concluded that deixis is by far more pragmatically-conditioned in Polish than it is English, or rather, that discourse organization in Polish imposes more contextual restrictions on the distribution of proximal vs. distal demonstrative pronouns. However, as has been demonstrated above, the contrast between the two languages in question can be captured in some pragmatic terms, i.e. the actual uses of the respective indexicals. Thus, in purely deictic roles such as introductions and gestural uses, Polish demonstratives behave analogously to their English counterparts. Otherwise, the proximal/distal dichtomy is blurred in Polish, in favour of a single demonstrative *to*, an equivalent of *this*. In cases when deictic anchoring is vital, it is marked in Polish by some other grammatical means, like tense or different pronominal forms. However, when English *this* or *that* are employed neutrally, only *to* does the job.

In the light of the present analysis a pragmatic approach to deixis seems to be indispensable and further cross-linguistic studies in the field might come up with some more significant generalizations concerning the issue of indexical expressions and their distribution in different languages.

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DISJUNCTIVE RULE ORDERING IN WORD FORMATION

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1. Since Chomsky's "Remarks on Nominalization" (1970) and the subsequent advent of numerous lexicalist theories of word formation, it has often been claimed that derivational morphology should not and cannot, in fact, be accommodated within the syntactic component, i.e. that morphologically complex words are derived by means of special word-formation rules (WFRs), rather than by transformations.

The most comprehensive, classic model of lexicalist morphology thus far available, i.e. that of Aronoff (1976), provides a detailed characterization of WFRs of this sort. One crucial assumption made by Aronoff is that his model is "built on a strict 'one affix, ine rule' basis" (1976:89). This assumption, together with Aronoff's "unitary base hypothesis" (cf. 1976:47 ff), means, roughly, that there is a one-to-one correspondence between individual WFRs accounting for the various processes of affixation and the formally distinct affixes that can be identified in a language. Hence, he speaks about rules for *un* # prefixation, # *ment* attachment, etc.

It will be recalled, too, that every single WFR of this sort is composed of two parts: "First, there is a part which specifies the syntactic and semantic characteristics", and "Second, there is a series of positive conditions on the morphology of the base" (1976:62—3).

It is remarkable that the "one affix, one rule" principle is implicitly or explicitly adopted in virtually all generative lexicalist studies of word formation published after Aronoff's contribution, as well as in those few that appeared in the first half of the 1970's.[1]

Before we concentrate on the validity of this principle, let us address the

[1] There are a few available exceptions: Jackendoff (1975) and several studies by Beard (e.g. 1976 , 1981).

central issue of this paper, namely the notion of rule ordering, as it is occasionally employed in lexicalist treatments of word formation.

2. Since lexicalist morphologists have rejected the transformational derivation of complex words, they are no longer in a position to relegate the whole problem of rule ordering to putative ordering relations holding within blocks of transformations. Yet, the question of ordering remains a real one, in view of the fact that the derivation if numerous multiply complex words involves several subsequent stages, whereby individual affixes are attached to base-forms which themselves are product of some other affixation processes. Simply speaking, one often finds cases of "derivations within derivations" (see Beard (1981:138)), with several affixes stacked up linearly upon a single root-morpheme.

Therefore, a priori at least, it might be reasonable to expect that different WFRs participating in the derivation of a complex word like *trans-form-ation-al-ly* do not apply in a random order — not only in this particular form, but also elsewhere. Unfortunately, this apparently self-evident and very tempting conclusion is (partly, at least) rejected in most recent lexicalist studies — generally speaking, on the grounds that it is simply contradicted by the language data. Thus, to give only the most spectacular argument, it has been pointed out that (extrinsic) ordering of WFRs in English is impossible: "it would rule out the pair *industrialize* and *organizational*, since *-ize* and *-al* appear in opposite orders" (see Roeper and Siegel (1978:202)).

The whole discussion of putative rule-ordering principles governing lexicalist word formation seems to have been inaugurated by two studies by Chapin (1967, 1970). He focused his attention on the unquestionably marginal, though interesting cases of so-called iterative rule-application which can be found, among others, in words like (?) *organ-iz-ation-al-iz-ation*. In conceivable words of this length and complexity, a three-suffix set is said to operate more than once on a given, well-specified base.

In order to provide a cogent formal solution for such intriguing cases, Chapin (1970) put forward his "epicycle hypothesis": assuming that in principle WFRs may be viewed as linearly ordered, he insisted that in the particular cases where one is confronted with the iterative application of certain groups of WFRs, these rules should be treated as operating cyclically, rather than linearly. The essence of Chapin's proposal was then that some rules, at least, apply in an extrinsically determined order.

Later on, proponents of lexicalist morphology rejected the idea of ordered WFRs and were particularly critical of Chapin's solution. Thus, for instance, Aronoff, who paraphrased Chapin's proposal to the effect that "WFRs must be ordered in a similar manner to syntactic rules", dismissed the whole idea out of hand, claiming simply that "This is impossible within our theory, for the ordering of WFRs requires that speakers always carry out deriva-

tional processes for complex words, and the improbability of this forms the basis of the present work" (1976:56).

In spite of this, it must seem fairly clear that there are certain tendencies, if not strict principles, which delimit the possibilities of combining various affixes within a word, i.e. which determine to some extent their linear succession. This means that the order in which WFRs apply cannot be entirely free and random. If any limitations of this sort do exist, they are an inherent property of the language system, rather than extrinsic, arbitrarily imposed restrictions. (Cf. in this connection such often-cited phenomena as the peripherality of inflectional affixes with respect to derivational ones, or the existence of "closing morphemes" in the sense of Nida (1965), i.e. derivational affixes that cannot be followed by any other (derivational) affix within a word).

In fact, a similar spirit permeates the initial sections of Halle's (1973) contribution. He observes (1973:3) that speakers possess some kind of knowledge about the proper ordering of individual morphemes within a word, so that, for instance, the five morphemes in *trans-form-at-ion-al* "cannot be concatenated in most other ways". Halle concludes this part by saying that a grammar must reflect somehow the speakers' knowledge of this sort.

Nonetheless, this fundamental observation is left unaccounted for in the hypothesis that Halle ultimately proposes, as far as the ordering of WFRs is concerned. Actually, he rejects the view that WFRs are ordered among themselves: "... I have yet to come across any clear instances where word formation rules have to be ordered in that tightly constrained fashion that is constantly encountered in true phonological rules". Halle juxtaposes the convention of linear order satisfactorily employed in the case of phonological rules with the still undiscovered principles that may govern the operation of WFRs. He suggests, rather speculatively, that in the latter case *simultaneous application* seems to be the most probable solution.

It will be recalled that Aronoff also discarded the idea of ordered WFRs, arguing that "... WFRs are not extrinsically ordered among themselves. The only possible ordering among WFRs will then be intrinsic, which means in effect that WFRs are unordered" (1976:61).

More recent lexicalist studies of word formation have not substantially altered this overall picture of ordering relations among WFRs. In fact, the whole issue is usually treated in a very cursory manner — cf., for instance, the contribution of Roeper and Siegel (1978) quoted above.

A similar attitude to the problem is adopted by Scalise, although his conclusion is less authoritative in tone: "Almeno a livello di organizzazione generale della grammatica (e in mancanza di dati specifici), si può qui concludere che le RFP [=WFRs] non sono ordinate o, quanto meno, che non sono ordinate nel modo in cui lo sono le transformazioni" (1983:127).

Likewise, Bauer (1983), in his recent introduction to English word forma-

tion, assumes a detached attitude to this unresolved problem. In a single, brief comment devoted to the question he refers to Roeper and Siegel's statement mentioned above and notes merely that "the pair of forms quoted [by them] is not sufficient evidence to exclude the extrinsic ordering of WFRs" (1983:168). Unfortunately, Bauer does not proceed to suggest any alternative, more adequate theory accounting for the interaction of WFRs.

A considerable departure from the strict principle of "unordered WFRs" may be noticed in the works of Siegel (1974) and, in particular, Allen (1978), who also in the main subscribe to the lexicalist school. Both Siegel and Allen suggested that WFRs may sometimes be extrinsically ordered and this theoretical concession enabled them to put forward the model of level-ordered morphology. Allen (1978), who refined and elaborated Siegel's original version of the theory, argues that the rules of the morphological component are organized into extrinsically ordered blocks or levels (depending on the kind of morphological boundary associated with a given affix), "although no ordering is imposed on individual rules of word formation" within a single level (see Allen (1978:7)).[2]

Thus Allen claims to have found evidence for the division of the English morphological component into three distinct levels.

Since then attempts have been made to apply the theory of level-ordered morphology to the systems of other languages (cf., for instance, Pesetsky's (1979) analysis of certain areas of Russian word formation within this framework). However, the theory does not seem to be applicable in describing numerous other word-formation systems (such as the Polish one), and therefore it probably has no universal validity. In fact, its adequacy with reference to the English data alone has also been questioned recently (notably by Strauss (1982)), on the grounds that boundary distinctions, on which this theory is based, are hardly anything more than pure fiction.

3. Leaving aside for a while the question of whether rule ordering may play any significant role in lexicalist word formation, we would like to pause in this section to consider what seems to be a substantial modification of the "one affix, one rule" approach to morphology. The formal model to be outlined below may be called a *categorial* lexicalist model of word formation.

The major theoretical innovation offered by this model pertains to the form and function of rules for word-coining. It derives from the recognition of the fact that, contrary to the assumptions underlying the "one affix, one rule" approach, in no system of word formation is there a strict one-to-one correspondence between form and meaning, i.e. between phonologically isolable affixal morpheme-shapes viewed as formal counters and the possible (ranges of) meaning attributable to each of them.

[2] A more recent model of level-ordered morphology may be found in Selkirk (1982)

This idea has been emphasized in the whole tradition of Slavic word-formation studies, where it is often pointed out that, on the one hand, one finds numerous instances of so-called *multi-functional affixes*, i.e. affixes which display more than one regular meaning (cf. English *-ish*$_A$, Polish *-n(y)*$_A$, and, on the other hand, so-called *co-functional* (iso-functional) *affixes* — a term applied to cases where a single semantic function is rendered by means of several formally distinct affixes (cf. Polish diminutives: *-ik/-yk*, *-ek/-k(a)/-k(o)*, feminine names: *-k(a)*, *-in(i)/-yn(i)*; English Nomina Actionis: *-ation*, *-ment*, *-al*, *-ure*, *-age*, *-y*, *-*$\begin{Bmatrix} a \\ e \end{Bmatrix}$*nce*, Ø). The phenomenon is illustrated in Fig. 1:

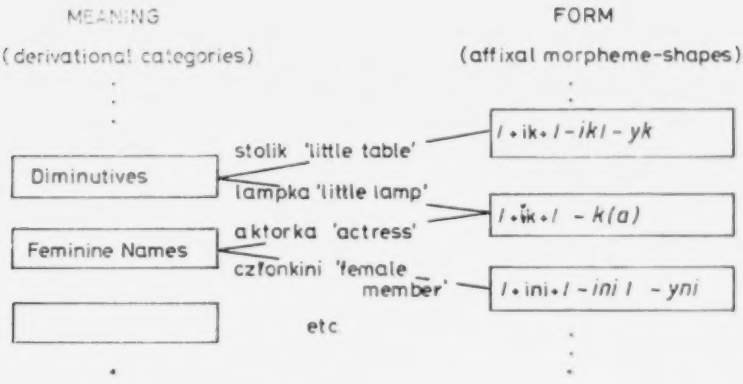

Fig. 1.

Unfirtunately, this phenomenon tends to be neglected, or rather trivialized, by the majority of linguists working on English word formation. One notable exception here is Beard (1976, see also Beard (1981, chapter 5)). He expressly observes that "some suffixes may serve multiple semantic functions, while any one function may be served by as many as ten different suffixes" (1976:109). But again, the evidence that prompted this remark comes from a Slavonic language (Russian adjectives).

However, as we have already noted, similar cases do exist in English, which is in fact recognized by Aronoff himself, when he speaks of the so-called "rival suffixes" (=co-functional suffixes), in connection with the English "deverbal abstract action nouns" (=Nomina Actionis) in *-ation*, *-ment*, *-al*, etc. (see Aronoff (1976:54, ftn. 8)). Yet, Aronoff does not consider any of the theoretical (formal) consequences following, for the model that he proposes, from evidence of this sort. One such rather obvious consequence is, for instance, that by strictly adhering to Aronoff's "one affix, one rule" principle one is unable to

express or encode somewhere in the word-formation component the fact the suffixes *-ation* and *-ment* are related to each other (semantically) in a way in which, say, *-ation* and *-ity* are not.

Conversely, Beard attributes much greater theoretical significance to the above phenomenon, maintaining that "Since the overlap of meaning and structure classes is two-way the rules generating meaning and those generating structure must be separate. In other words, derivation is a process wholly distinct from suffixation" (1976:109).

Similarly, the recognition of this "two-way overlap" of meaning and form has served as a conceptual background and justification for the fundamental distinction made in the tradition of Slavic word-formation studies, i.e. the differentiation of derivational categories and derivational types (see, for instance, Grzegorczykowa (1979:23-4)). A givensemantically established derivational category subsumes one or more derivational types (affixal exponents).

It appears then that the prevalent trend in current lexicalist work on English word formation is to make little (if any) use of the elsewhere predominant practice of splitting the semantic and the formal aspect of word-coining. Moreover, the atomistic treatment of affixes by Aronoff and others seems to be too formalistic, i.e. performed at the cost of semantically insightful analysis and generalization.

Superficially, Aronoff appears to pay heed to the basic (regular) meaning of the affixes and the derivatives he chooses to analyse. Recall that the only sample WFR that he presents in full, the *un* # prefixation (p. 63), falls into two distinct parts, i.e. (a) a semantic part defining (roughly) the predictable meaning of the derivatives, and (b) a part specifying the acceptable "forms of the base", i.e. providing a set of formal conditions on the rule. However, one would be interested in knowing how Aronoff would handle, within a single rule, the semantics of a suffix like #*ish*, i.e. a case where the derivatives with a formally uniform suffix may be classified into several semantically distinct and coherent groups. It seems that, when striving to preserve the formal identity of such a process (#*ish* attachment), Aronoff would be forced to accept a disjunction in the semantic part of the rule, and this brings us only a step away from viewing this rule as in fact several distinct, semantically at least, processes. To put it differently, a WFR of the type proposed by Aronoff often presents itself as a disguise for a set of some more elementary rules in which the principle of one-to-one correspondence between the form and the meaning of the formatives would not be violated. As it stands, Aronoff's practice appears to be in fact subordinated to a tripartite prerequisite, namely a "one affix — one rule — one meaning" idea which, unfortunately, is untenable for a majority of the intricate patterns of word formation.

The argument presented above should make it clear why we prefer an alternative view of the form and function of the rules deriving complex words in

a language. The solution that we would like to develop derives from the assumptions laid out in Laskowski (1981) and relates to Beard's remarks quoted above. Laskowski argues that it is necessary to distinguish two types of rules constituting the derivational component of a language: *Rules of Derivation* (DRs), which are semantic in their nature and correspond to the traditional concept of derivational categories, and the spell-out *Rules of Affixation* (ARs), which may be coupled with the notion of derivational types. "Rules of derivation play a crucial role as they define the network of functional relations among elements of the lexicon, characteristic of a given language" (Laskowski (1981:115), translation mine — B.S.). That is to say, a rule of derivation takes care of the semantic side of any process of word-coining; it expresses the fact that in language L a certain specific semantic category has some formal exponents in the realm of derivational morphology, and, by way of paraphrase, it specifies this category, providing part of the regular (predictable) semantic content of the class of derivatives.

It follows from our earlier discussion that a given rule of derivation may have one or more rules of affixation which are subordinated to it, depending on the number of formal exponents of the category the DR relates to.

Functionally speaking, the rules that we propose may be of two kinds: they may have the status of mere redundancy statements in the sense that they generalize on certain types of unproductive (or weakly productive) derivations which, in any case, must be fully and individually represented in the Permanent Lexicon; or they may *predict* both the form and the categorial meaning of whole classes of formations representing the more productive processes of word formation. The output of the latter will constitute the Conditional Lexicon of a language. The concept of Permanent vs. Conditional Lexicon is adopted here from Allen (1978) (see also Malicka-Kleparska (to appear) and the evidence therein).

Within the present approach, we lay great emphasis on the proper encoding, in the formal mechanism, of the active character and generative potential of the productive rules of derivation/affixation. They should be a true reflection of the word-formation competence of every native speaker who is capable of producing a virtually unlimited number of potential words. We maintain, in other words, that the mental strategies of a native speaker (e.g. the choice of a suitable affix) are, to a large extent, governed by the synchronic rules of derivation and affixation which themselves are part of a generative grammar of a language.

Among the factors that influence the operation of word-formation processes, conditions statable on the rules play a most important role. Formally speaking, those conditions fall into two types: *positive conditions* (PCs) and *negative conditions* (NCs), i.e. constraints. Their nature may be manifold: syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, lexical, morphological and phonological. Some higher-order and more general conditions may be imposed directly on a given rule of derivation; others are linked to individual rules of affixation. Both PCs and NCs should

define classes of possible bases of a given rule of derivation/affixation, i.e. they operate on its input by having access to lexical representations of base-forms.

Rules of word formation are seldom as regular and exceptionless as those of syntax and phonology. That is why, in cases when the distribution of a given affix is not (or not fully) predictable on the basis of a general rule and corresponding conditions, we may have to resort to the convention of lexical government, analogical to that proposed in Aronoff (1976:40). It means that some (preferably: a small number of) bases may have to be marked individually in the lexicon as undergoing a given rule of affixation, which is ensured by means of a diacritic feature [+AR: x]. (Naturally, the rule itself must contain the same diacritie in the specification of its base.) This feature will stipulate that an item which bears it should combine with a certain affix although it does not meet the general (absolute) condition(s) imposed on the affixation rule in question. To put it differently, a diacritic [+AR: x] (with the coefficient 'plus') will define a limited set of 'positive exceptions' to the affixation rule 'x'.

Similarly, sporadic 'negative exceptions' to a particular affixation rule, i.e. items which do meet its concomitant conditions but none the less should be removed from the domain of its application, need to be provided in the lexicon with a diacritic [−AR: x].

To sum up, a rule of derivation with a set if co-functional rules of suffixation subordinated to it may be represented by meas of the following general formula:

$$DR\colon [Y]_{C'} \rightarrow [[X]_C + y_{suff}]_{C'}.$$

semantics: (paraphrase)

$$Ar(s)\colon y_{suff} \rightarrow \begin{cases} /\ldots/, \text{ if } [X]_C \text{ is (conditions/diacritics)} \\ (/\ldots/, \text{ if } \ldots) \\ (/\ldots/, \text{ if } \ldots) \\ \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots \\ (/\ldots/) \text{ 'elsewhere'} \end{cases}$$

where

C — category marker of the base
C' — category marker of the derivative
X — abstract symbol of the base
Y — abstract symbol of the derivative
y_{suff} — abstract symbol of the suffix(es)
/.../ — one of the lexical (phonological) exponents of y_{suff}

Let us stress again that such dynamic, 'active' rules of word formation will not function as mere redundancy statements. On the contrary, they will help to remove a gret deal of redundancy from the lexicon because, firstly, hierarchical ordering of the rules of affixation (see below) will prevent repeti-

tion of conditions on the attachment of individual affixes (what is a positive condition on one affix may often be a negative condition on another 'rival' affix), and, secondly, regular predictable products of the productive processes will not have to be entered in the Permanent Lexicon (at least not in that part of their semantic reading which follows from the paraphrase and is not idiosyncratic). Cf. Allen (1978:198): "In the Overgenerating Morphology, a derived word whose form and meaning is predictable in all aspects from the base and the WFR is not entered in the permanent lexicon", which means that "only derived words which are in some sense exceptional are entered in the permanent lexicon".

4. Before we turn to some extra mechanisms and formal solutions that may prove indispensable for an adequate treatment of the diverse word-formation patterns, let us stop and give some illustration of the theory outlined so far.

It has been noted that the lexicalist theories adhering to the "one affix, one rule" idea are particularly well-suited to simple cases where only one affix serves as a formal exponent of a given category. It is worth pointing out that cases of this sort are in a minority as far as Polish word formation is concerned; in any event, they can be as easily handled within the variety of the theory that we propose.

As an example, consider the Polish suffix *-aw(y)*/+av+/, which derives the so-called "adjectival diminutives", i.e. deadjectival adjectives paraphrasable as 'somewhat__', 'approximating the quality denoted by the base adjective'. (cf. English *-ish* in this particular usage). Examples:

biały	'white'	—	białawy 'whitish' etc.
czarny	'black'	—	czarnawy
zielony	'green'	—	zielonawy
gruby	'fat'	—	grubawy
słodki	'sweet'	—	słodkawy
łysy	'bald'	—	łysawy

Three things should be noted in connection with this suffix: firstly, it has a rather unique position in the system of Polish word formation in the sense that its semantic function is invariably as specified above (except: *rdzawy* 'rusty' and *łzawy* 'tearful'), i.e. the suffix is not multi-functional and due to this fact we get semantically compositional derivatives; secondly, the category in question is not rendered by any other means — *-aw(y)* is its sole exponent; thirdly, the suffix seems to be fairly productive, in spite of the rather small number of "actual" formations listed in the dictionaries of Polish (about 100 in the "Indeks a Tergo"). On the basis of the latter finding we may conclude that the domain of /+av+/ attachment is heavily restricted by certain conditions on the pertinent rule of affixation.

For lack of space, we now give a final, though tentatively formulated statement of the rule for Polish "adjectival diminutives," which we have justified in greater detail elsewhere (see Szymanek (1981:255)):

DR: $[Y]_A \rightarrow [[X]_A + y_{suff}]_A$ $([Q])_N$

Semantics: $[Q]_N$ is somewhat $[X]_A$, approximates the quality denoted by $[X]_A$'

AR:

$$Y_{suff} \rightarrow /+av+/ \text{ if } [X]_A \rightarrow \begin{cases} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{colour} \\ -\text{relational} \end{bmatrix} & 1) \\ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{qualitative} \\ -\text{relational} \\ +\text{native} \\ -\text{intensive} \\ -\text{binary} \\ [C_0VC_1(N+in+)]_A \end{bmatrix} & 2) \\ [+\text{AR: } /+av+/_A] & 3) \end{cases}$$

The formal shape of the rule makes it obvious that only one suffix renders the category "adjectival diminutive" — note a single affixation rule. The conditions defining the applicability of the suffix /+av+/ are sensitive to three sets of potential base-forms:

1) Adjectives of colour which, however, cannot be relational, cf. *piaskowy* 'sandy (colour)' **piaskowawy*, *szmaragdowy* 'emerald-green' — **szmaragdowawy*.

2) A large class of (other) qualitative adjectives, subject to a few additional semantic constraints (cf. above) and one whose nature is morphological: most bases that combine with this suffix are synchronically unmotivated root adjectives. Those few that are not, are all denominal adjectives with the suffix *-n(y)* /+in+/, e.g. *chłodny* 'cool' — *chłodnawy* (exceptionally a different adjective-forming suffix in *kulisty* 'globular' — *kulistawy*).

3) Finally, there are a few (less than 10) /+av+/ derivatives that do not correspond to the general pattern. These are forms like.

okrągły 'round' — okrągławy
bolesny 'painful' — bolesnawy
kulisty 'globular' — kulistawy

Items of this sort may be handled in two ways. One way out is to treat them as being actually derived by the rule in question, which can be guaranteed by providing each of them with a diacritic marker [+AR: /+av+/$_A$]. This interpretation is implicit in our rule, note the presence of this same diacritic in the formula above.

An alternative solution, which after all may seem to be more natural, is to treat the adjectives like *okrągławy* as lexicalized forms, fully represented in the Permanent Lexicon. Consequently, they need not be accounted for by the rule itself. However, a disadvantage of this approach is that it gives no opportunity of encoding the obvious derivational relationship between the base and the derivative.

Needless to say, while constructing a rule like the one above we are drawing on the concept of 'Overgenerating Morphology' (in the sense of Allen (1978)), since our rule will derive items belonging to the Conditional Lexicon (including potential words), and not just the forms attested in the dictionaries of Polish.

It is only in cases analogical to the Polish *-aw(y)* suffixation (in the sense of one-to-one equivalence between form and meaning) that there is no substantial difference between the lay-out and function of WFRs á la Aronoff and those that we propose. In fact, the two rules above (DR and AR) could be collapsed into a single rule format like that of a WFR, which seems to indicate that, in this particular case at least, our presentation is formally speaking hardly anything else but a notational variant of Aronoff's WFR-schema.

5. Let us now see how a categorially oriented WF component would handle certain more complex cases of derivations. What we have in mind are cases where a given derivational category is spelled out by several 'rival', co-functional affixes. It will turn out that in most situations of this sort any interpretation along the lines of the standard WFR theory is bound to be very costly (if at all feasible) in terms of the formulation of the respective rules. It appears that various very productive (in particular the so-called "categorial") processes of word formation should be accounted for in a different manner, crucially involving a novel conception of affixation-rule interaction.

According to Grzegorczykowa (1979), the Polish system of word formation comprises such "categorial" processes as, for instance, the derivation of Nomina Actionis and Nomina Essendi. The process of deverbal Nomina Actionis formation is said to be "categorial" in the sense that (almost) any Polish verb lends itself to this process. Another such process in Polish, whose domain is close to categorialness, is the derivation of Relational Adjectives (Rel. Adjs — denominal attributive adjectives with the general meaning 'pertaining/referring to what is denoted by the base noun', cf. *biblioteka uniwersytecka* (≫*uniwersytet*) 'university library'). We have attempted to demonstrate elsewhere (see Szymanek (1981)) that the vast majority of Polish nouns, both native and foreign, common and proper, may derive corresponding Relational Adjectives. The problem, however, is that there are as many as 6 formally distinct suffixes which (partly, at least) "specialize" in rendering this derivational function. These are:

	Rel. Adj.
/+j+/, e.g. **kobieta** 'woman'	— kobiecy
/+ǣn+/, e.g. **ziemniak** 'potato'	— ziemniaczany
/+ī+/, e.g. **ryba** 'fish'	— rybi
/+ĭn+/, e.g. **szkoła** 'school'	— szkolny
/+ĭsk+/, e.g. **uniwersytet** 'university'	— uniwersytecki
/+ov+/, e.g. **dom** 'house'	— domowy

If we assume that we are faced here with a single derivational category (i.e. a single Rule of Derivation), it will follow that the six different suffixes (plus their variants) should be viewed as being attached to nominal bases by six cofunctional affixation rules. Naturally, the distribution of every single suffix (i.e. the domain of applicability of each AR) should be defined and delimited by means of appropriate conditions and constraints. Now we come to a vitally important question: should we treat the ARs under discussion as an unordered set and maintain that the information (conditions) contained in any such rule is completely independent of that encoded in the remaining five rules? Our answer is: no. It seems much more advantageous to view the six ARs as a *disjunctively ordered* set, beginning with the rule attaching the suffix /+j+/ — a rule with the narrowest domain of application, and ending with the AR for /+ov+/ attachment, which is the 'elsewhere' case, since this suffix appears to be the most productive within the set.

Further implications of imposing disjunctive ordering on blocks of co-functional affixation rules are discussed below.

On the whole, it seems reasonable to expect that the formal solution suggested above for the interpretation of Rel. Adj.-derivation in Polish may prove to be of real value also in the analysis of equally productive patterns found in other languages. In order to test the validity of this solution against the English data, one would first have to cope with some quite elementary problems of classification. The difficulty follows from the fact that virtually all analyses of the English word-formation component thus far available (both traditional and generative) avoid the question of classifying individual affixes into distinct derivational categories. Even in the most reliable accounts the principle of presentation of the various formatives is simply alphabetic, based on either their orthographic or phonetic shape. Any division proposed does not normally go beyond the assignment of affixal derivatives to distinct syntactic categories (N, V, Adj, Adv) and is only occasionally followed by some elementary subcategorization.

This is also the standard approach of the recent lexicalist studies which are biased towards illuminating the formal aspects of word-coining, even at the cost of neglecting important semantic generalizations.

A perusal of the final sections in Bauer (1983) compels one to the observa-

tion that there is now a growing awareness of the fact that there must be something fundamentally wrong about treating the word-formation component as an atomistic system of mutually unrelated affixes (i.e. a system of non-interacting WFRs). Bauer (1983:270) notes that "... there are problems connected with suffixation which are not discovered by an analysis of each suffix separately". He is led to this conjecture after examining two categories of English derivatives: adjectives from personal names (suffixes: *-esc*|*-esque*/*-ic*| *-ine*| *-ish*| *-ist*| *-ite*) and subject (agentive) nominalizations, represented by *-er*| *-ant*| *-ee*| Ø. With reference to the former, Bauer rightly observes that "The problem is to decide, in any given case, which of several competing suffixes will be added to a given base to form an adjective" (1983:268). Somewhat later (p. 286) he concludes that "Little attention has been paid to the question of how it is known which affix should be used. In some cases it is not a problem: *-able* is the only affix with a meaning of the type 'able to be Ved', and *-ee* is the only suffix with the meaning 'person who is Ved'. [cf. our example of Polish *-aw(y)*above] In other cases, as was shown with the competing adjectival suffixes [...], the problem can be considerable".

So it may seem that Bauer is quite aware of the qualitatively new problems that arise when one chooses to interpret word formation from a categorial, semantically oriented view-point. Unfortuantely, Bauer's recognition of this fact does not bear fruit in his study in the form of a revised model of word formation. Specifically, he does not arrive at a solution comparable to our disjunctive-ordering hypothesis, and even the split of derivation and affixation is not consistently accomplished. However, he implicitly introduces the ,*Elsewhere condition*| inherent in the disjunctive ordering principle: when discussing the class of agentive nominalizations, he clearly views the suffix *-er* which is the most productive within the competing set, as an elsewhere case (cf. above our interpretation of the Rel. Adj. -forming suffix *-ow(y)* in Polish). Thus, he argues as follows: "To the extent that there is any general principle operating in this set of data [...] it seems to be that *-er* should be used unless there is a reason not to use it" (1983:289).

Coming back to disjunctive ordering itself, it should be pointed out that our suggestion of employing this particular convention of rule interaction in the analysis of derivational morphology is not a completely new or original idea. Matthews (1974:229 ff) reports on successful attempts to employ disjunctive ordering in generative analyses of inflectional morphology (see Wurzel (1970)).

We must admit, however, that in either case (derivation or inflection) the convention of disjunctive ordering, if it proves of real value, will bear only partial resemblance to its analogue satisfactorily employed in the realm of phonology. The most visible difference is connected with the putative relationship between disjunctive ordering and the notational convention of parenthesis,

as they are used in phonology. The standard SPE model of phonology assumes that "two adjacently ordered elementary rules that can be abbreviated by the parenthesis notation will be disjunctively ordered" (Kenstowicz and Kisseberth (1979:349)). This means that abbreviability by parenthesis was treated by Chomsky and Halle as a necessary condition for imposing disjunctive-ordering relationship. It is obvious that such a strong requirement would make no sense with our disjunctively ordered sets of morphological ARs. However, the SPE claim is now said to be too strong even for phonological rules (for argument and alternative proposals see Kiparsky (1973), Kenstowicz and Kisseberth (1979:350 - 1)): two or more rules adjacent to one another need not be collapsable by parenthesis, and still may be treated (in otherwise determined cases) as disjunctively ordered.

Another point of difference is that in phonology the very position of a rule within a disjunctively ordered set can usually be argued about and determined in much stricter terms than is now possible in derivational moprhology. The morphologist, unfortunately, has to rely on such loose and impressionistic notions as the greater or lesser productivity of an AR, or the amount of conditioning information (how should we measure both?).

It is because of differences like the ones above that Halle's (1973) scepticism about the existence of any direct parallels between the interaction of phonological rules and rules of word formation seems quite understandable.

Now, in order to better clarify the place and function of disjunctive ordering in a categorial model of word formation, let us return to our example of Rel. Adj. derivation in Polish. The six co-functional suffixes given there are said to be disjunctively ordered, which means that the choice of a suitable suffix for any given nominal base will begin with the first AR on the list following the pertinent Rule of Derivation. This is the affixation rule distributing the suffix /+j+/. If the conditions which are part of this AR allow the attachment of the suffix /+j+/, to from a potential adjective, any further derivation will be blocked. On the other hand, if, which is more likely, the rule attaching the suffix /+j+/ is barred from application by virtue of the concomitant conditions, the nominal base in question passes on to the next AR(s) on the list, until the concatenation process is successfully accomplished. All the nominal bases that are still "in play", having failed to meat the conditions on rules 1-5, will automatically fall under the domain of the last AR, viz. /+ov+/ attachment. This is then the 'elsewhere' stage in the whole process under discussion.

It may be noted that the model of derivation outlined above is based on the following specific assumptions:

1). Conditions on a given AR within a disjunctively ordered set are complementary to the conditions on, and the operation of, other co-functional

ARs being ordered "higher" in this set. One may observe as well that due to the application of disjunctive ordering virtually all absolute conditions on individual ARs may be stated in positive terms — exclusion of ceratin forms in the input of a given AR (negative conditioning) will be a function of the ordering relationship thus imposed.

2). Disjunctive ordering of co-functional affixation rules presupposes that there should be, in principle, no cases of so-called parallel formations or "doublets". As far as the derivation of Polish Rel. Adjs is concerned, indeed it seems that parallel formations arise very infrequently (but cf., for instance, *wieśniak* 'peasant' — *wieśniaczy*//*wieśniacki* — Rel. Adj.). In order to correctly account for such cases, it seems necessary to modify or relax the effect of disjunctive ordering, since in its present form it clearly does not provide for the possibility of coining two parallel formations on a single base. A possible way out, which needs further investigation, is to treat one of the parallel forms as a lexicalized item, whereas the other one would be coined with occasional suspension of the mechanism of lexical blocking. On the other hand, there are, admittedly, certain areas of Polish word formation where "doublets" are a common phenomenon (for instance, derivation of expressive nouns and adjectives) and here the concept of disjunctive ordering will obviously present itself as inadequate and inapplicable. An original lexicalist treatment of Polish diminutives, which also pose the same problem, is suggested in Malicka-Kleparska (1985).

In order to see some of the formal consequences of the model proposed here, let us briefly consider the distribution of the most productive Rel. Adj.-forming suffix, viz. /+ov+/, which is found to combine with hundreds of both native and foreign bases, e.g. *książka* 'book' — *książkowy*, *śniadanie* 'breakfast' — *śniadaniowy*, *strajk* 'strike' — *strajkowy*, *parking* 'car-park' — *parkingowy*, *izotop* 'isotope' — *izotopowy*. The main and most important contraint on the application of /+ov+/ is semantic in nature: according to the traditional analysis (cf. for instance Satkiewicz (1969:130)), the suffix /+ov+/ does not derive Rel. Adj. from common presonal nouns. If we put aside the so-called "possessive adjectives" from (masculine) Christian names like *Adam* 'Adam' — *Adamowy*, *Piotr* 'Peter' — *Piotrowy*, which sound a little obsolete in Modern Standard Polish (evoking associations with the archaic style of the Bible), we may reverse the above conditions and state it in positive terms: *suffix /+ov+/ derives Rel. Adjs from (certain classes of) common non-personal nouns.*

Any further delimitation and narrowing down of the domain of /+ov+/ attachment, if undertaken in isolation and abstracted from other Relational suffixes, would have to result in a series of minute conditions overloaded with redundancy. Thus, one would be forced, for instance, to define and enumerate several morphological classes of non-personal nouns which sys-

tematically *do not* combine with /+ov+/ but with some other 'rival' suffix (ordered "higher" in our model of derivation — e.g. certain latinate nouns in *-cj(a)*, *-sj(a)*, *-zj(a)*, which combine with /+ĭn+/, native nouns in *-alni(a)*, *-arni(a)*, *-owni(a)*, or names of animals, taking /+ī+/ or /+j+/, etc.). Finally, exhaustive lists of exceptions would have to be enclosed to this putative account.

It follows then that such an asystemic description, if at all feasible, would be very costly in terms of formalization: this is so since (as we have already noted) often *what appears to be a positive condition defining the application of one suffix* (*say* /+ĭn+/) *may at the same time be taken as a negative condition on one of its rivals* (e.g. /+ov+/).

By ordering the co-functional affixation rules we are able to considerably simplify the rule-component, since there will be no superfluous repetiton of the context-defining information. That is to say, by formally linking various co-functional ARs it is possible to eliminate a great deal of redundancy from the lexicon.

To conclude the discussion of our illustrative category — the class of Relational Adjectiven in Polish — we have to introduce one more formal innovation if we want to account for this derivational pattern (or any other equally productive one) in a completely satisfactory manner. Recall that Rel. Adj.-formation is a near-categorial process. This means that relatively few Polish nouns do not derive Rel. Adjs by any means, i.e. none of the six suffixes may combine with them. In order to accommodate such systematic or sporadic exceptions within our model of derivation we propose a special mechanism which may be referred to as an *Input Blocking Device*. We assume that before any nominal base-forms are processed and concatenated with appropriate suffixes to yield Rel. Adjs, the derivational apparatus should dispose of those nominal entries which cannot derive potential Rel. Adjs by any means. This is precisely the task of the Input Blocking Device. This blocking mechanism will exempt from the domain of the DR in question items of two sorts: (1) nominal entries which correspond to various 'systematic gaps' in the output; i.e. by means of generalized statements which are nothing else but *negative conditions on the DR istelf* it will be ensured that whole classes of nouns such as Nomina Actionis, Nomina Essendi, Nomina Attributiva — which are established on a semantic basis, or classes of nouns ending in *-owicz,-owiec*, etc. — established on morphological basis — do not, in principle, undergo the process of Rel. Adj.-derivation; (2) disparate nominal entries which may be coupled with the 'accidental gaps' in the output. Here it must be lexically determined that, for instance, there is no Relational Adjective from *policjant* 'policeman' (cf. **policjancki* vs. *komediant* 'comedian' — *komediancki*) or from *osa* 'wasp' (cf. **osi* vs. *pies* 'dog' — *psi*).

Summing up, the overall relationships holding between the nominal base and the output of the rule deriving Rel. Adjs in Polish may receive the following simplified graphic representation:

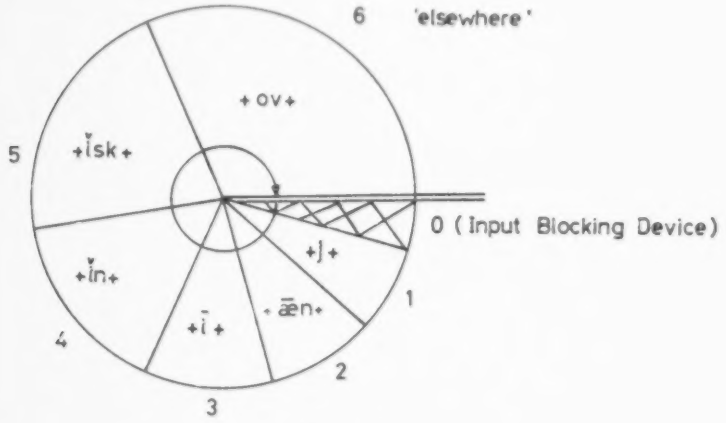

Fig. 2

Only when equipped with this model of derivation are we able to provide detailed answers to general questions of the following sort: Is it possible, in Polish word formation, to convey the meaning 'pertaining/referring to what is denoted by the base noun' (i.e., is it possible to derive Rel. Adjs) and, if so, *which Polish nouns, and by what formal means, lend themselves to the process of Rel. Adj. derivation*?

It may be observed that the way the question is stated is rather untypical of the characteristic approach to word formation represented by other lexicalist scholars: their questions usually focus on the distribution (and possibly also: meaning) of *individual* affixes, whereas we are primarily interested in what categorial meanings may be expressed on the level of word formation in a particular language, and only then — by what formal means. In this sense our approach seems to illustrate "a theory of word-formation that takes its starting point in some kind of semantic or cognitive structure" (Bauer (1983:286)).

6. It has already been hinted in passing that the formal innovations proposed in this paper, i.e. disjunctive ordering of co-functional Affixation Rules, plus the Input Blocking Device (if needed) are of limited applicability. On the whole, these solutions seem to be useful and justified in the analysis of, some at least, highly productive, almost categorial patterns of derivational morphology.

However, first and foremost, the distinction between Rules of Derivation and Rules of Affixation is immaterial and offers no real gain over the standard WFR-theory in the infrequent cases when there is really a one-to-one corres-

pondence between form and meaning, i.e. in cases like Polish *-aw(y)* or English *-able* (disregarding the semantic exceptions).

Otherwise, the formal modifications proposed above should be seriously considered in any instance where a given derivational category is rendered by more than one affix. Unfortunately, even in such cases, disjunctive ordering need not always be called for. Too little categorially oriented work on word formation has been done so far to give a clearly convincing support and illustration of this point. Suffice it to say that the problem seems to manifest itself, for instance, in Górska's (1981) analysis of the category Nomina Loci in Polish. According to Górska, there are four basic co-functional suffixes capable of rendering the categorial function in question: These are: *-alni(a)*, *-owni(a)*, *-ni(a)*, and *-arni(a)* (cf., respectively, *przebieralnia* 'changing room', *żaglownia* 'sail room', *pakownia* 'packing-room', *palarnia* 'smoking room').[3] Assuming Górska's analysis to be correct, it turns out that the distribution of these four formatives is, by and large, *mutually disjoint and unrelated*, and may be specified individually in terms of syntactic and morphological conditioning. (Moreover, the rules she discusses fail to meet Aronoff's "unitary base hypothesis", since the base forms are both nouns and verbs). If this is indeed the case, then one can hardly speak here of any interaction of ARs, and consequently imposing disjunctive ordering on them offers little help to the analyst.

Similar conclusions follow from an analysis of the class of causative deadjectival verbs in English, reported in Gussmann (to appear). Again the distribution of such formatives as *-en*, *en-*, *en-...-en*, *be-*, *-ify*, *-ize*, Ø seems to indicate that the respective Rules of Affixation do not significantly intereact with one another.

7. A final conclusion to be drawn from our presentation above may be that disjunctive ordering of co-functional Affixation Rules seems to be a viable solution whenever there exists any marked functional interplay among these rules. Disjunctive order is then a formal reflection of this interplay, additionally justified by the requirements of simplicity and economy (cf. a similar conclusion with reference to disjunctive ordering in phonology in Anderson (1974:107)).

A more general conclusion is that the nature of various productive word-formation patterns is not underlyingly uniform—on the contrary, there seem to exist important functional differences in the ways in which affixes of all sorts (or rather affix-shapes) are brought into use. Consequently, these differences, if taken seriously, will result in a model of word formation which may probably

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[3] Since the four putative suffixes exhibit a common morphemic element *-ni(a)*, they could in fact be viewed as allomorphic extensions of the principal suffix, thus $\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}al\\ov\\ar\end{matrix}\right\}\right) + ni + (a)$.

be criticized for its formal heterogeneity but which, at this cost, will be more capable of accounting for a variety of derivational phenomena. Just which of the repertoire of formal means is to be employed must be decided upon individually for every single category, the ultimate criterion being consistence with the facts, formal adequacy and economy of the description as well as the insightfulness of the analysis.

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IF, UNLESS AND THEIR POLISH EQUIVALENTS

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In the majority of descriptions of English conditional sentences *if* is considered to be the principal conjunction to which all other conditional conjunctions can be referred. In the present paper I shall attempt to compare *if* with its negative counterpart *unless*. I shall make use of both English and Polish language material.

The problem of Polish equivalents of *if* and their distribution has already been touched upon in a forthcoming paper by Dancygier and Mioduszewska. Since, however, the problem was then treated very marginally I shall attempt to offer a more exhaustive account here.

The distribution of Polish conjunctions which have functions similar to those of *if* seems to confirm the possibility of interpreting conditional sentences in terms of factual, theoretical and hypothetical meanings (see Dancygier and Mioduszewska forthcoming). All the conditional conjunctions fall into basically two sets: conjunctions expressing hypothetical meanings (by means of the *-by* particle) and non-hypothetical ones. That is, we have *gdy* and *gdyby*, *jeżeli* (*jeśli*) and *jeżeliby* (*jeśliby*), *jak* and *jakby*. The verb in the subordinate clause is in the indicative after all conjunctions.

The six conjunctions listed above appear in conditional sentences with different frequency, and also in different functions.

Jeśli (or *jeżeli*) seems to be the most common conditional conjunction in Polish. It introduces clauses with factual and theoretical meanings, with all possible types of time reference (present, past and future for theoretical clauses, present and past for factual ones). (For other aspects of the semantics of *jeśli* see Faryno 1972).

The hypothetical variant of *jeśli* (*jeżeli*) — *jeśliby* (*jeżeliby*) is interesting in that it is apparently able to express only non-counterfactual hypothetical meanings, i.e. it preferably appears with future time reference:

1.a. Jeśliby się przygotował, zdałby ten egzamin (Future)
1.b. *Jeślibym znała francuski, byłabym teraz we Francji (Present)
1.c. *Jeśliby wtedy nie zlekceważył sprawy, nie narobiłby sobie kłopotów (Past)

The conjunction which is most commonly used to express hypothetical meanings is *gdyby*. Its non-hypothetical variant *gdy* (when) basically a temporal conjunction. It has functions parallel to those of it when the sentence is impersonal in form, as in: *Gdy się chce kierować przedsiębiorstwem, trzeba mieć doświadczenie*.

Gdyby can accompany present, past and future sentences, although the verb is usually put in the indicative regardless of the actual time reference *(Gdyby napisał ten list jutro {dzisiaj} {wczoraj}, mógłby dostać stypendium)*. In past hypothetical sentences *plusquam perfectum* is sometimes used, but such forms are considered unnatural and obsolete). *Gdyby* is also sometimes used in the optative sense or in making polite requests (*Gdyby pan zechciał...*).

It is generally true for English that the so called mixed conditionals are never mixed between hypothetical and non-hypothetical clauses (i.e. it is impossible to say e.g. **If he is typing in his room, he wouldn't hear the bell* or **If I were you, I won't answer the phone*). Interestingly enough, there is a class of Polish conditional sentences which begin with *gdyby*, i.e., a hypothetical conjunction, and indicative, future main clauses, as in: *Gdyby zadzwonila, dam ci znać*. It is also, apparently, the only case in which *gdyby* can be freely substituted by *jeżeliby/jeśliby*, as well as *jeśli/jeżeli* and *jak*. It must also be noted that such sentences are not, in fact, mixed, as they clearly have future reference, both in the antecedent and in the consequent. It seems that the presence of the *-by* particle here expresses the speaker's negative expectation.

Jak is a conjunction which is basically used to substitute *gdy* in colloquial discourse, i.e. in temporal clauses. As a conditional conjunction *jak* is usually met in theoretical sentences with future or present reference. Past indicative after *jak* is unacceptable (e.g. *Jak nie chcesz, to nie idź* (Present), *Jak nie zechcesz, to nie pójdziesz* (Future), **Jak nie chciałeś, to nie poszedłeś* (Past)). *Jakby* can apparently be used with any time reference, although it is most commonly met in sentences referring to the future.[1]

The last conjunction to be mentioned here is *skoro* (*since*), which is very interesting in that it accompanies only factual meanings, with both present and past reference. It must be noted, however, that *skoro* is never used in

[1] The interpretation of *jak* seems to pose certain problems. *Słownik Języka Polskiego* (1978), for instance, defines *jak* as a conjunction introducing temporal and conditional clauses. *Gramatyka Języka Polskiego* (1984), on the other hand, treats *jak* mainly as a temporal conjunction; in connection with conditional clauses *jak* is mentioned only once, as a substitute of *jeżeli* in its half-temporal sense, very close to *gdy*. Even then, however, the stress is put on the temporal relationship it establishes.

non-consequential conditionals, since it implies some degree if causality. Moreover, it cannot be claimed to be identical to factual *if*, because it expresses a stronger conviction on the part if the speaker.

It is generally assumed that *unless* contains an element of negation (derived from the main or the subordinate clause, see Jespersen 1909—1949) and that it can be substituted by an *if* clause in the negative form. In the majority of cases both forms (with *unless* or *if not*) really seem to be acceptable, but this does not mean that they are used for the same purposes. I am going to argue here that in many cases one of the forms is preferred and that the choice in the remaining cases is governed semantically and pragmatically.

Consider the following sentences:

2.a. Consult the dictionary if you can't do without it

2.b. Consult the dictionary unless you can do without it.

The most common equivalent of *unless* in Polish is the conjunction *chyba że*. Polish translations of the two examples given above can be interpreted similarly to 2.a. and 2.b.:

3.a. Sprawdźcie w słowniku, jeśli nie dacie sobie rady bez tego

3.b. Sprawdźcie w słowniku, chyba że dacie sobie radę bez tego.

It seems that 2.a. and 3.a. sentences have two possible interpretations, only one of which can be treated similarly to the interpretation of sentences with *unless* and *chyba że*. We might call one of the interpretations "causal" and claim that its structure can be represented by the following formula:

(A) *q* because (not *p*)
q ponieważ (nie *p*)

The other interpretation can tentatively be referred to as "circumstantial" and represented as follows:

(B) *q* in case (not *p*)
q w przypadku gdy (nie *p*)

In the former formula the stress is put on the cause-effect relation holding between *q* and *not p*, in the latter *not p* is treated as a condition (or, rather, a circumstance) under which *q* might occur. It might be claimed that the A interpretation has a more general character, while in interpretation B the content of *p* (or, rather, *not p*) comes as a kind of afterthought, which is marked by a slight pause in pronunciation.[2]

[2] In their paper on classification of conditionals Dancygier and Mioduszewska (forthcoming) introduce two classes of conditional sentences: consequential and non-consequential; the former class covers all sentences expressing cause-effect relationships of any type. In view of the observations made in the present paper the class of consequential conditionals has to be divided into two subclasses defined in terms of the causal/circumstantial opposition.

As regards the sentences 2.b. and 3.b. (with *unless* and *chyba że*), they cannot usually be related to the causal interpretation of 2a. and 3a. sentences. They are, on the other hand, similar to 2a. and 3a. sentences in their circumstantial interpretation in that they also tend to be pronounced with a pause (especially in Polish) and that the content of the subordinate clause expresses something similar to a reservation.

The main question to be asked in the analysis of *unless/chyba że* sentences relates to the problem of the actual scope of negation. *If not* clauses seem to be interpretable basically as *if* (*not p*), i.e., *not* comes as a sentential negation of *p*. This does not seem to be the case with *unless*, which can be confirmed by two observations. First of all, *unless*-clauses in English can be put in the negative, which means that *unless* itself does not have a negative meaning. Besides, suppletive forms do not have to be used after *unless*:[3]

4.a. You'd better keep silent if you haven't anything to say
4.b. You'd better keep silent unless you have something to say
4.c. *You'd better keep silent unless you have anything to say
5. I won't open my mouth unless nobody else agrees to speak.

Our suggestion is that what *unless* really negates is *q*, not *p*. That is, *unless* and *chyba że* strings can be interpreted not as subordinate simple clauses, but as complex structures containing conditional sentences with negated *q*'s as consequents and *p*'s as antecedents:

(C) *q* unless *p*=*q*; [(not *q*) if *p*]

In other words, the speaker wants to say that *q*. He is, however, also considering the circumstances under which *q* might not occur. To refer this to our 2.b. and 3.b. sentences, students are told to consult their dictionaries; they are also told that they are not supposed to do that of they already know the meanings of all the vocabulary items included in the exercise.

It is also worth noting that in *unless/chyba że* sentences *p* is understood to be the only condition under which *q* does not occur, i.e., that "if only" is a plausible paraphrase in such cases:

6.a. Consult your dictionaries; don't do that only if you can do without it
6.b. Sprawdźcie w słowniku; nie sprawdzajcie tylko wtedy, gdy dajecie sobie radę bez tego.

We cannot apply the above "if only" test to sentences like 2.b. and 3.b. — simply because *unless* and *chyba że* do not appear with *only*. We can show, however, that *unless* does not equal *only if not*.

[3] Similar observations can be found in Geis (1961).

7.a. Stay in bed if you don't feel better $\neq >$
8.a. $\neq >$ Stay in bed only if you don't feel better
7.b. Stay in bed unless you feel better $\neq >$
8.b. $\Rightarrow$ Get up only if y ou feel better.

As it was suggested earlier, *unless/chyba że* sentences resemble *if not* clauses with circumstantial interpretation. It has been shown above how *if not* and *unless* clauses differ with regard to the place of negation, the circumstantial character of the condition, however, seems to be independent of these differences. *If not/jeśli nie* circumstantial sentences can be interpreted to the effect that the occurrence of *q* depends on the circumstances described by *not p*, in *unless/chyba że* clauses the occurrence of *q* is assumed, but the speaker is at the same time considering *not q* as a possible result of the unique set of circumstances described by *p*. The claim that *unless/chyba że* sentences do not basically express causal relationships can be supported by the fact that *unless/chyba że* usually do not appear in structures in which the causal interpretation is preferred or more probable. Consider:

9.a. I'll be happy if she doesn't go to hospital
9.b. Będę szczęśliwa jeśli ona nie pójdzie do szpitala
10.a. *q* (be happy) because *p* (she not go to hospital)
10.b. *q* (być szczęśliwym) ponieważ *p* (ona nie pójdzie do szpitala)
11.a. *q* (be happy) in case *p* (she not go to hospital)
11.b. *q* (być szczęśliwym) w przypadku gdy *p* (ona nie pójdzie do szpitala)
12.a. ? I'll be happy unless she goes to hospital
12.b. ? Będę szczęśliwa, chyba że ona pójdzie do szpitala.

The sentences 9.a. and 9.b. will probably be interpreted to the effect that "her not going to hospital will make me happy", i.e., in accordance with 10.a. and 10.b.. The interpretations given in 11.a. and 11.b. and *unless/chyba że* sentences in 12.a. and 12.b. are rather unlikely. It seems that both 11 and 12 imply that the state described by *q* is temporary, while causal sentences have a more general interpretation. In particular, it seems that circumstantial interpretation is rarely given to *q*'s which denote states, as it can be seen in the following *unless/chyba że* sentences:

13.a. I'll be glad if he doesn't fail the exam
13.b. Będę zadowolona jeśli on nie obleje egzaminu
14.a. She'll be sorry if she doesn't manage to submit the text on time
14.b. Będzie jej przykro jeśli nie zdąży oddać tekstu na czas
15.a. ? I'll be glad unless he fails the exam
15.b. ? Będę zadowolona, chyba że on obleje egzamin
16.a. ? She'll be sorry unless she submits the text on time
16.b. ? Będzie jej przykro, chyba że odda tekst na czas.

Interestingly enough, 15 and 16 can obtain absolutely acceptable interpretations if the context accounts for other reasons for which the people mentioned will be glad or sorry. The *unless/chyba że* clauses would then specify some additional circumstances. That is, one can anticipate a certain emotional state and at the same time consider the circumstances which may prevent it.

The observation made above that causal subordinate clauses do not take *unless* or *chyba że* conjunctions, which seem to be exclusively circumstantial, sheds some light on another problem which also calls for explanation. Namely, *unless* sentences in English are not used in hypothetical meanings. This also holds true for Polish:

17.a. *He would have passed the exam unless he had been ill
17.b. *Zdałby egzamin, chyba żeby był chory

Two factors seem to be responsible for the above restriction.

Firstly, hypothetical sentences are apparently able to express only causal, and not circumstantial meanings. This can be seen in the following:

18.a. We'll have dinner out of you are not tired
18.b. Zjemy obiad na mieście, jeśli nie jesteś zmęczona

The above sentences will typically be interpreted as circumstantial: I want to have dinner out (for reasons not mentioned), but this may be prevented from happening if the circumstances are such that you are tired. Consequently, the *unless/chyba że* version is perfectly acceptable:

19.a. We'll have dinner out unless you are tired
19.b. Zjemy obiad na mieście, chyba że jesteś zmęczona.

In the hypothetical versions of 19 the interpretation changes:

20.a. We'd have dinner out if you were not tired
20.b. Zjedlibyśmy obiad na mieście gdybyś nie była zmęczona.

In 20.a. and 20.b. q and p can be claimed to carry the following meanings:

20.c. We won't have dinner out / you are tired
20.d. Nie zjemy obiadu na mieście / jesteś zmęczona.

In order to join the clauses of 20.c. and d. in such a way as to preserve the meanings of 20.a. and b. we have to use the conjunction *because/ponieważ*:

20.e. We won't have dinner out, because you are tired
20.f. Nie zjemy obiadu na mieście, ponieważ jesteś zmęczona.

Presumably, then, hypothetical sentences imply causal, not circumstantial interpretations, which prevents them from appearing with *unless/chyba że*.

The second factor which seems to restrict the use of *unless/chyba że* in hypothetical meanings is the implied negation of q. As I have suggested above, the

meaning expressed by *unless/chyba że* sentences can be accounted for by a formula in which both *q* and *not q* are present: *q* is assumed to hold true or is expected to occur in the future, while for *not q* to be true or to occur in the future the condition *p* has to be fulfilled. In other words, *unless/chyba że* sentences assume the possibility for either *q* or *not q* to happen. This, however, is impossible in hypothetical sentences, which are negatively truth-committed, or counterfactual, i.e., they allow only one interpretation: *q*, if the clause is in the negative form, or *not q* if there are no overt markers of negation.[4] Not surprisinglyl the same argument can be raised in favour of the claim that *unless* sentence, do not express factual meanings. The only difference is that factual conditionas sentences are positively truth-committed.

The suggestions made above find rather unexpected support in Polish. Polish "hypothetical" particle *-by*, which can be attached to most conditional conjunctions, can also be added to *chyba że*, giving *chyba żeby*. Interestingly enough, sentences with *chyba żeby* do not admit conditional forms of the verb in the main clause (see 17.b.) and they are acceptable only if the main clause is in the indicative:

21. Zda ten egzamin, chyba żeby był chory.

Still, the presence of *-by* in the subordinate clause does not imply counterfactuality, because the whole sentence has future reference and a future tense form is used in the main clause.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that due to the emphasis put on *q* in *unless/chyba że* clauses the most common surface sequence of the antecedent and the consequent is *q unless/chyba że p*. Still, it is often possible to change the sequence in English, while in Polish *chyba że* cannot take the initial position in a sentence.

22.a. Unless I am very much mistaken, she is Spanish
22.b. *Chyba że się mylę, ona jest Hiszpanką

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[4] Interestingly enough, the actual content of hypothetical *if*-clauses can be made explicit in Polish sentences with *gdyby* which are parallel to the English expression *if not for the fact that ...*
Thus in Polish we can have both

a. *gdybyśmy nie mieli dzieci*	or b. *gdybyśmy mieli dzieci*
(*if we had no children*)	(*if we had children*) —

and

a. *gdyby nie to, że mamy dzieci*	or b. *gdyby nie to, że nie mamy dzieci*
(*if not for the fact that we have children*)	(*if not for the fact that we have no children*).

An interesting point is that the English paraphrases lose their hypothetical meaning, while the Polish ones retain the hypothetical character due to the fact that the particle *-by* accompanies the conjunction, and not the verb form.

23.a. ? Unless you ring the bell, he won't open the door
23.b. *Chyba że naciśniesz dzwonek, nie otworzy drzwi.

Sentences like 22.a. and 23.a. are likely to be paraphrased as "either...or..." sentences:

22.c. Either I am very much mistaken, or she is Spanish
23.c. Either you ring the bell, or he won't open the door.

This, however, does not change the interpretation. Consider:

q=she is Spanish, p=I am very much mistaken
q unless p=q; not q if p
unless p, q=either p or q=either p (and, consequently, not q), or q

The "either ... or ..." paraphrase, however, reduces the stress put on q as a more probable option than *not* q.

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TENSE IN MODERN ENGLISH AND DANISH

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Introduction

The present paper falls into two main parts. First, I shall discuss the analysis of tense in English and Danish, particularly the number and meanings of tenses. Secondly, I shall describe tense usage in the two languages and in so doing concentrate on the special problems encountered by Danish learners of English. These problems, it may be added, are largely shared by Norwegian and Swedish learners of English.

Number of tenses and tense meanings

In both English and Danish I operate with the following eight tenses, all of which are realized by means of flexives and/or auxiliaries, i.e. morphologically and/or syntactically:

(1)	English	Danish
Present	V+*-s*/Ø	V+*-(e)r*
Present perfect	*has*/*have*+V+*-(e)d*	*har*/*er*+V+*-(e)t*
Past	V+*-(e)d*	V+*-(e)de*, *-(e)te*
Past perfect	*had*+V+*-(e)d*	*havde*/*var*+V+*-(e)t*
Future	*will*/*shall*+V	*vil*+V
Future perfect	*will*/*shall*+*have*+V+*-(e)d*	*vil*+*have*/*være*+V+*-(e)t*
Future in the past	*would*/*should*+V	*ville*+V
Future perfect in the past	*would*/*should*+*have*+V+ +*-(e)d*	*ville*+*have*/*være*+V+*-(e)t*

This table accounts only for regular verbs in verb phrases which are non-progressive and active and which do not contain modal verbs. A complete description of the realization of the eight tenses would naturally have to include all verbal forms. Such an exhaustive description is fairly unproblematic, and I shall therefore immediately turn from form to meaning. Now according to Comrie (1976), tense relates the time of the verbal event to some other time, usually the moment of speech, cf. e.g.

(2) I assure you it *mattered* then, it *matters* now, and it *will matter* in the future

The semantics of these tense forms can be described by means of the following formulas, where — in accordance with Reichenbach (1947) — event time is symbolized as E, speech time as S, simultaneity with commas, and separation in time by dashes:

(3)	Present	E, S	*matters*
	Past	E — S	*mattered*
	Future	S — E	*will matter*

In the case of the perfect tenses, the time of the verbal event is related not only to the point of speech but also to a so-called point of reference (symbolized as R and always posterior to E). In an example like *She had signed the letter* (*when I returned*) the event of signing takes place before a reference point (that of my return) which in its turn is anterior to the moment of speech (what I say now). In *She will have signed the letter* (*when I return*) the event of signing takes place before a reference point and after the point of speech, and in *She has signed the letter* (*now*) the event of signing takes place before a reference point which is simultaneous with the moment of speech:

(4)	Present perfect	E — R, S		*has signed*
	Past perfect	E — R —	S	*had signed*
	Future perfect		S — E — R	*will have signed*

Consider finally examples like the following:

(5) (She said) they *would receive* the letter (soon)
(She said) they *would have received* the letter (by Monday)

Here E is not connected directly with S but with a past moment of time which the speaker selects as his point of departure and which may be symbolized as B (as is time):

(6)	Future in the past	B — E	*would receive*
	Future perfect in the past	B — E — R	*would have received*

Future in the past and future perfect in the past are closely related with respectively future and future perfect, the basic difference being that the two former tenses have a B where the two latter have an S. However, it is not possible to analyse future in the past and future perfect in the past as variants—

bound or free, and occurring in indirect speech — of respectively future and future perfect and in this way to reduce the number of tenses from eight to six. The reason why this is so is that in those cases of indirect speech where the *consecutio temporum* principle is violated — as it sometimes is — there is not free variation between future and future in the past or between future perfect and future perfect in the past:

(7) (a) The weatherman said that the weather *will clear up*, so it probably will S — E

(b) The weatherman said that the weather *would clear up*, so it probably will B — (S) — E

(c) *The weatherman said that the weather *will clear up*, and so it did S — E

(d) The weatherman said that the weather *would clear up*, and so it did B — E — (S)

(e) The weatherman said that the weather *will have cleared up* by Wednesday, so it probably will S — E — R

(f) The weatherman said that the weather *would have cleared up* by Wednesday, so it probably will B — (S) — E — R

(g) *The weatherman said that the weather *will have cleared up* by Wednesday, and so it did S — E — R

(h) The weatherman said that the weather *would have cleared up* by Wednesday, and so it did B — E — R — (S)

As it appears, the future in the past has the formula B — (S) — E in (7b) but the formula B — E — (S) in (7d). Similarly, the future perfect in the past has the formula B — (S) — E — R in (7f) but the formula B — E — R — (S) in (7h). The important thing to note is that as shown by (7c) v. (7d) there is not free variation between future and future in the past, and as shown by (7g) v. (7h) there is not free variation between future perfect and future perfect in the past. Consequently, if future and future perfect are recognized as tenses, then future in the past and future perfect in the past must be recognized as tenses as well. We thus end up with eight tenses (in both languages), the meanings of which can be expressed in the following way:

(8)

Present		E, S	
Present perfect		E — R, S	
Past		E — S	
Past perfect	E — R —	S	
Future		S — E	
Future perfect		S — E — R	
Future in the past		B — E	
Future perfect in the past		B — E — R	

The eight-member analysis of tense proposed here differs from the analyses found in practically all contemporary descriptions of English and Danish. Usually it is argued that there are only two tenses — past and present — in both English and Danish. The perfect constructions are then analysed as aspect and the constructions with *will/shall* and Danish *ville* are analysed as modality. My main reason for not choosing to operate with perfect aspect is that the English and Danish perfects have nothing to do with aspect as normally defined. Aspect has to do with internal event time: the event which is expressed by the verb may be seen as unfolded or as rolled up, as in the case of imperfective v. perfective in Slavic languages and progressive v. nonprogressive in English (cf. Comrie 1976). This is not the function of the perfect at all, for like the obvious tenses it expresses external event time. It has to do with the relative placement of the verbal event in a chronological order.

My main reason for accepting future tenses is that English *will/shall* and Danish *ville* in many cases express pure future time. For example, this is the case when the subject of the sentence is impersonal:

(9) I'm afraid nothing *will come* of it
The meeting *will be* in about ten days' time

Leech, Lyons and others claim, it is true, that English *will*+V is always tinged with modality, for in those cases where it does not express volition, intention, willingness or predictability it expresses prediction. However, this is really a universal argument against recognizing future tenses, for whenever reference is made to future events there will be an element of prediction. The logical conclusion which has to be drawn, then, is to get rid of future tenses universally, for example also in French, where 'prediction' is signalled morphologically, e.g. *il signera la lettre*. This is a price which some linguists are prepared to pay but which is very heavy. In this paper, therefore, future tense will be recognized whenever *will*, *shall* and *ville* do not express volition, intention, obligation, willingness or predictability but pure future time or — according to Leech (1971) — prediction. A distributional argument in favour of this analysis is that temporal (but not modal) *will* and *shall* replace each other in indirect speech and in passivization and that temporal *will*, *shall* and *ville* differ from the modals in not occurring in conditional clauses (cf. Palmer 1965):

(10) I *shall hand* him the bad news
She says she *will hand* him the bad news
It *will surprise* me vastly of you do not go down in history and legend
I *shall be* vastly *surprised* of you do not go down in history and legend

If you *can/dare/will give* me a clue, I shall endeavour to assist you (modal *will*)
Hvis du *kan/tør/vil give* mig et vink, vil jeg forsøge at hjælpe dig (modal *vil*)

Componentially the eight tenses of English and Danish can be analysed by means of three binary features: [±PREVIOUS] (event time precedes reference time), [±POSTERIOR] (event time follows speech time) and [±THEN] (separation backwards in time from the moment of speech in either of two ways: a) there is a past basis time, b) there is neither an E nor an R which coalesces with or follows S):

(11)	THEN	POSTERIOR	PREVIOUS
Present	−	−	−
Present perfect	−	−	+
Past	+	−	−
Past perfect	+	−	+
Future	−	+	−
Future perfect	−	+	+
Future in the past	+	+	−
Future perfect in the past	+	+	+

An argument in favour of the feature [THEN] is that it enables us to account for the *consecutio temporum* principle. If the governing verb is [+THEN] the governed verbs are also [+THEN], and if the governing verb is [-THEN] the governed verbs are also [-THEN]:

(12) When he *has gone* to the ball and the coast *is* clear you and I *will go* and *search* till we *find them*
He *said* the operation *would begin* as soon as the liaison officer *had phoned*.

The tenses systems can alternatively be analysed in terms of marked and unmarked feature values. If it is assumed that the unmarked value of all three features is minus, the following matrix — in which all tenses are kept apart — is obtained:

(13)	THEN	POSTERIOR	PREVIOUS
Present			
Present perfect			M
Past	M		
Past perfect	M		M
Future		M	
Future perfect		M	M
Future in the past	M	M	
Future perfect in the past	M	M	M

This matrix is intuitively satisfactory in representing present tense as totally unmarked and in assigning 1st degree of marking (complexity) to the past, present perfect and future, 2nd degree to past perfect, future perfect and future in the past, and 3rd degree (total marking) to future perfect in the past.

Tense Usage

Future v. non-future tenses

Let us consider first the relationship between the present tense and the future tense. In both English and Danish, it is well known, the present tense is a highly elastic tense, for in addition to referring to present events (cf. the formula E, S) it can also refer to past events (historical present), to future events, and to habitual/universal events. The main difference between English and Danish here has to do with the use of the present tense for future events. In the case of the simple present tense, for example *the plane leaves tomorrow*, there has to be a future time adverbial and it must be a case of the future realization of something planned or certain. The progressive present does not require such an adverbial, but it must be a case of a future event which is anticipated or in preparation at the moment of speech, as in *Jane is moving to the States*.

In Danish the present tense with future time reference is used much more freely. In the case of telic verbs, in particular, future time is normally expressed with present tense, even in the absence of a future time adverbial:

(14) Ved du hvad vi *gør*? Vi *fejrer* det med et mægtigt party. Åbent hus! Vi *inviterer* hele verden
(D'you know what we'll do? We'll celebrate it with an enormous party. Open house! We'll invite the whole world)

This also applies to superordinate clauses of complex sentences:

(15) Når min søn kommer hjem, *slagter* vi fedekalven
(When my son comes home, we'll kill the fatted calf)

This difference between English and Danish with respect to the distribution of present v. future tense is part of a more comprehensive pattern, for unlike English, Danish uses the three other non-future tenses for the expression of posterior event time as well, cf. sentences like the following:

(16) På denne tid i morgen *har* jeg utvivlsomt *afsluttet* sorteringen af det første bundt svar
By this time tomorrow I *shall* no doubt *have finished* sorting out the first batch of replies
Gid forestillingen snart *begyndte*
I wish the performance *would begin* soon

Hvis du havde lyttet til mig i morges, *var* dette ikke *sket*
If you had listened to me this morning, this *wouldn't have happened*

In each of these three pairs, English and Danish differ with respect to the value assigned to the feature [POSTERIOR]. Generally speaking, we can say that if posterior event time is expressed in some other way than by tense, then the non-future tenses are extensively used for the expression of future time in Danish, and this is not the case in English. As it appears from the above examples, such other ways in which posterior event time may be expressed are: by future time adverbials, by telic Aktionsart (telic verbs in themselves indicate transition from one state to another), and by conditional sentence structures (which express that the event referred to in the main clause is subsequent to that referred to in the subordinate clause).

Present perfect v. past tense

Apart from faulty transfer from Danish of present perfects formed with the auxiliary *være/be*, as in **They are become famous*, a major tense problem for Danes is overuse of the present perfect in English as compared with the past tense. This is due, for one thing, to the existence in Danish of a so-called *modal perfect* (Glismann, ms.), which is used in those cases where the speaker infers past events from present evidence, i.e. where a reconstruction is made:

(17) Den afdøde *har siddet* ved kaminen, da morderen kom ind
(The deceased — I infer from the evidence — *was sitting* at the fire-place when the murderer entered)

In this example the present perfect refers to a specified past event — and for this purpose English requires the past tense.

The ordinary non-modal perfect is in Danish most often used referring to unspecified past events, i.e. in the same way as in English:

(18) Jeg *har* ikke *set* pornografi siden den blev legaliseret
I *haven't seen* any pornography since they legalized it

In addition to this usage, however, Danish not infrequently uses the non-modal present perfect referring to specified or specifiable past events, where English requires the past tense:

(19) Dickens *har skrevet* mange romaner
Dickens *wrote* many novels
Hvornår *er* det *sket*?
When *did* that *happen*?
Jeg *har gået* i skole i England
I *went* to school in England

Thirdly, there are differences between English and Danish in connection with the time adverbials *always/altid*, *ever/nogensinde* and *never/aldrig*. In English, but not in Danish, the past tense may in combination with these adverbials refer to the indefinite past:

(20) James *was always* a man of honour
Jens *har altid været* en hædersmand
Did you *ever* hear of incest?
Har du *nogensinde hørt* om blodskam?
I *never saw* such a crowd
Jeg *har aldrig set* sådan en menneskemængde

According to Leech (1971) such examples with *always*, *ever*, *never* are exceptions to the rule that English past tense expresses definite past meaning.

Finally, a special Danish (Scandinavian) use of the past tense should be mentioned, viz. the *emotive past*, which may be illustrated with the following examples:

(21) Davs med dig Daniel! Det *var* længe siden!
(Hello, Daniel! Long time, no see!)
Tænk at du har fundet på det! Det *var* virkelig en overraskelse
(Fancy your thinking of that! That's really a surprise)
Det *var* nu ærgerligt, at vi ikke kan nå at ses inden jul
(It's really annoying that we won't have time to meet before Christmas)
Det *var* vel nok dejligt, at vi kan få billetter til landskampen!
(How nice that we can get tickets for the international)

Where Danish uses the emotive past tense, English uses present tense or verbless constructions.

Tense v. modality

In this section I shall return to the following problem: how does one distinguish between temporal and modal uses of Danish *ville* and English *will*? In the following examples it is fairly clear that the auxiliaries are used temporally, i.e. express future tense:

(22) (a) The car *will be* at the door at two sharp
(b) I'm afraid nothing *will come* of it
(c) There'*ll be* rain in Northumberland
(d) Det *vil* nok *være* mest praktisk med et fryserum til alle disse artikler
(It will probably be most practical with a coldstore for all these articles)
(e) I'*ll be losing* my way in the miles of stately corridors
(f) We'*ll be seeing* him tonight

(g) They'*ll be doing* their best
(h) Maybe I *won't have* another chance of talking to you
(i) You'*ll have to* trust me
(j) We *will have* ample opportunity of studying her personality
(k) In all likelihood they *will smuggle* the necklace away

Examples (a) through (d) illustrate impersonal subjects, i.e. volition, willingness or intention are not involved here. In (e), (f) and (g) the verb is in the progressive form, whereby modality (except for predictability) is ruled out. In the remaining examples it is the linguistic context which shows that *will* is temporal.

Nevertheless, one certainly does come across sentences where it is difficult to make a decision. This is illustrated by the next two examples, which are *prima facie* ambiguous. However, one must assume that they are intended as either temporal or modal and that the larger context is likely to disambiguate them:

(23) "I'*ll write* to you", he cried, racing for a cab
If you will go and sit in the car, we *will join* yiu in a minute

If *will* is followed by the perfect infinitive, volitional modality is ruled out, for it does not make sense to declare one's willingness to perform a past event. The only type of modality which *will* may express in this environment is predictability:

(24) He *will have signed* the letter by now

When attempting to reach a decision as regards present tense +modality v. future tense one may benefit from comparing with German and French. If — in its context — an English verb phrase translates into a German verb phrase with *werden* and a French future tense verb, the auxiliary is primary (temporal):

(25) He *will sign* the letter tomorrow
Er *wird* den Brief morgen *unterschreiben*
Il *signera* la lettre demain

If, on the other hand, it translates naturally into a German verb phrase with *wollen* and a French verb phrase with *vouloir*, the auxiliary is modal:

(26) He *will sign* the letter tomorow
Er *will* den Brief morgen *unterschreiben*
Il *veut signer* la lettre demain

Summary of differences in tense usage

Although there are the same eight tenses in English and Danish, and although the two languages show considerable agreement in the use of these,

there are also, it has already been shown, a number of important differences with respect to tense usage. These differences can be illustrated graphically in the following way:

(27)

Danish	English
future	future
present	present
future perfect	future perfect
present perfect	present perfect
past	past
future in the past	future in the past
past perfect	past perfect
future perfect in the past	future perfect in the past

Apart from the two major differences in the use of future v. nonfuture tenses and of present perfect v. past tense, (26) indicates a difference pertaining to future perfect v. present tense which has not been mentioned above. If a sentence contains a time adverbial which indicates 'anterior-future' time, e.g. *inden næste mandag* (before next Monday), Danish uses besides the future perfect (which is obligatory in English in such cases) not only the present perfect but also the present tense:

(28) Inden næste mandag *afslutter* udvalget sit arbejde
Inden næste mandag *har* udvalget *afsluttet* sit arbejde
Innden næste mandag *vil* udvalget *have afsluttet* sit arbejde
By next Monday the committee *will have finished* the job

Tense in non-finite verb phrases

In non-finite verb phrases the number of tenses is in English as well as Danish radically reduced. In English both the oppositions [+THEN]≠[−THEN] and [+POSTERIOR]≠[−POSTERIOR] are neutralized, i.e. there are only two non-finite tenses, which may be called the *perfect* and the *non-perfect*. They may be illustrated with the following examples:

(29) I expect *to finish* the job next week
I expect *to have finished* the job next week

Giving him a light I set fire to his moustache
Having given him a light I set fire to his moustache

Any non-finite English verb phrase is thus characterized either by the feature specification [−PREVIOUS, O THEN, O POSTERIOR] or by [+PREVIOUS, O THEN, O POSTERIOR].

If progressive and passive forms are disregarded, the two nonfinite tenses have the following realizational possibilities:

(30)	infinitivals	participials
non-perfect	(*to*+) V	V+*-ing*
perfect	*to have*+V+-(*e*)*d*	*having*+V+-(*e*)*d*

In Danish the number of tenses is reduced to four in non-finite verb phrases:

(31) Byggeriet anslås *at koste* 14 mill. kr.
(The building project is estimated to cost 14 million crowns)
Byggeriet anslås *at have kostet* 14 mill. kr.
Byggeriet anslås *at ville koste* 14 mill. kr.
Byggeriet anslås *at ville have kostet* 14 mill. kr. (inden årets udgang)

As it appears from these examples not only the opposition [+PREVIOUS] ≠[−PREVIOUS] remains operative but also the opposition [+POSTERIOR] ≠[−POSTERIOR]. The four non-finite tenses in Danish are thus characterized by the feature specifications [+PREVIOUS,−POSTERIOR, O THEN] (*at have kostet*), [−PREVIOUS,+POSTERIOR, O THEN] (*at ville koste*), [+PREVIOUS,+POSTERIOR, O THEN] (*at ville have kostet*) and [−PREVIOUS, −POSTERIOR, O THEN] (*at koste*). I shall term these tenses respectively *perfect*, *future*, *future perfect* and *present*.

Whereas English has tense distinctions in participials as well as infinitivals, participial non-finite verb phrases are tenseless in Danish. If passive constructions and constructions including modal auxiliaries are disregarded, non-finite verb phrases are realized in the following ways in Danish:

(32)	infinitivals	participials
present	(*at*)+ V	-(*e*)*nde*
perfect	*at have*/*være*+V + -(*e*)*t*	
future	*at ville*+V	
future perfect	*at ville have*/*være* +V+ -(*e*)*t*	

As already pointed out, Danish normally uses the non-future tenses if posterior event time is expressed in some other way than by tense. As a result of this

principle non-finite verb phrases in the future and future perfect tenses are relatively rare, posterior event time being more commonly referred to by one of the two non-future tenses:

(33) Varmen ventes *at* (*ville*)*holde* folk væk fra sommerudsalget
(The heat is expected to keep people away from the summer sales)
Frankrig formodes *at* (*ville*) *have standset* sine atomsprængninger i Stillehavet inden årtiets udgang
(France is expected to have stopped her nuclear test explosions in the Pacific by the end of this decade)

What Danish students of English must learn with respect to tense in non-finite verb phrases is to avoid transfer of the future tenses (e.g. **the building is expected to will cost a million pounds*) and to observe the distinction between the perfect nad the non-perfect, not only in infinitivals, where they are familiar with it, but also in participials, e.g. *giving him a light* v. *having given him a light*.

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A SOLUTION TO THE PROJECTION PROBLEM FOR PRESUPPOSITION OF COMPOUND SENTENCES WITHIN ULRICH BLAU'S THREE-VALUED LOGIC SYSTEM

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In his work *Die dreiwertige Logik der Sprache* (1978), Ulrich Blau presents a semantically interpreted system of three-valued logic devised especially for the needs of natural language analysis. The ultimate semantic reasons of truthvaluelessness of sentences are semantic vagueness and reference failure occurring in clearly specified contexts. Within this system, presupposition can be non-vacuously defined.[1]

The definition comes close to the original Strawsonian one (Blau 1978:192):[2]

F presupposes G in L3 $\Leftrightarrow \forall\varphi$: $\varphi(F)=1$ or $0\Rightarrow\varphi(G)=1$

The definition says that a formula F presupposes a formula G in Blau's three-valued logic system of and only of, of any φ function (any semantic interpretation function) assigns the truth-value: true or false to F, then it follows that the same function assigns the truth-value: true to G. In other words, whenever F is true or false, then its presupposition G is true. The definition is not circular because truth-values: true, false, truthvalueless are assigned to formulae independently of the notion of presupposition.

Among other logical connectives, U. Blau's system contains the following four one-place logical operators:[3]

[1] It seems that a non-vacuous definition of presupposition must be a part of a semantic theory within which truthvaluelessness of sentences is predicted independently of presupposition.

[2] U. Blau gives two other equivalent versions of this definition.

[3] The operators are not basic within Blau's system. They can be defined in terms of the basic ones which are $\sim$ — strong negation, $\neg$ — weak negation, $\wedge$ — conjunction. Consequently, the occurrence of $\bot$, $\top$, $+$, $\overline{\top}$ in the formulae introduced later in the paper could be eliminated in favour of the basic operators. This, however, would lead to the loss of the distinctions (among (i), (ii), and (iii)) introduced on purpose.

$\top$ — one-place truth operator corresponding to the natural language predicate *'it is true that S'*

$\bot$ — one-place falsity operator corresponding to the natural language predicate *'it is false that S'*

$+$ — one-place indetermination operator corresponding to the natural language predicate *'it is neither true nor false that S'*

$\overline{\top}$ — one-place determination operator corresponding to the natural language predicate *'it is either true or false that S'*

The semantic interpretation of $\top$, $\bot$, $+$, $\overline{\top}$ is given by the following truth-tables:

F	$\top$F	$\bot$F	$+$F	$\overline{\top}$F
1	1	0	0	1
0	0	1	0	1
$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	1	0

The most important is the truth operator $\top$; when a sentence S is true or false, then 'it is true that S' is correspondingly true or false. When S is truthvalueless, then 'it is true that S' is not something indeterminate but false.

Those operators, together with the truth-tables for conjunction and alternative[4] allow to specify what presuppositions of compound (conjunctive and disjunctive) sentences are.

The projection problem for presupposition of compound sentences, i.e. sentences with conjunctions 'and' and 'or' (and possibly 'if... then') has not been successfully solved within Frege's or Karttunen's frameworks.[5] Blau

[4] As well as with two negation operators: strong negation

p	$-$p
0	1
1	0
$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$

and weak negation

p	$\neg$ p
0	1
1	0
$\frac{1}{2}$	1

whose distributions are specified. The negation present in the examples to come is to be understood as strong negation.

[5] For criticism see, for example Wilson (1975) or Soames (1976). One of the most extensive discussions of the problem of presupposition of compound (disjunctive and conditional) sentences is presented in S. Soames's (1979) article "A Projection Problem for Speaker Presuppositions". The article contains a critique of the solution to the problem offered by three-valued accounts of logical presupopsition, as well. Yet, the truthtables for conjunction and implication discussed by Soames differ from Blau's truth-tables.

The aim of the present paper is to describe a solution to the projection problem deducible from U. Blau's system and not to reexamine Soames's arguements in detail. But since the two problems overlap, the examples to follows come (predominantly) from Soames's paper. The interpretation of the examples is different.

does not suggest the solution of this problem, either. Yet, he provides the truth-tables for 'and' and 'or'. It is possible to deduce what presuppositions of compound sentences with those conjunctions are basing on the information provided in the truth-tables.

By definition, presupposition is a condition that must be satisfied (i.e. the sentence expressing the condition must be true) for a sentence to be true or false. If the condition fails, the sentence is neither true nor false.

From the truth-table for the conjunction 'and' it follows that a compound sentence containing this conjunction is truthvalueless if either both conjuncts are neither true nor false or one of them is truthvalueless and the other is true:

q / p	$p \wedge q$		
	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$
1	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$
0	0	0	0
$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	$\frac{1}{2}$

Consequently, the presupposition of a conjunctive sentence is the condition that the situation described above cannot occur, i.e. if 'p and q' is to be true or false it is impossible for the presuppositions of both p and q to be not true or for the presupposition of one of them (p or q) to be not true with the other conjunct being true at the same time.

It is possible to express what a presupposition of a conjunctive sentence is more formally with the help of the operators introduced earlier.
Let p, q be the component sentences of a conjunctive compound sentence and let p^p, q^p be the respective presuppositions of p and q established by the rules which attach presuppositions to simple and complex sentences. 'p and q' is the conjunctive sentence itself. Then $(p \text{ and } q)^p$ is the presupposition of a whole conjunctive sentence, which may be defined in the following way:

$(p \text{ and } q)^p = (i) \top p^p \wedge \top q^p$
or (ii) $(+p^p \vee \perp p^p) \wedge \top q^p \wedge \perp q$
or (iii) $(+q^p \vee \perp q^p) \wedge \top p^p \wedge \perp p$[6]

This may be paraphrased in the following way: presupposition of a conjunctive sentence expresses the condition that either (i) the presuppositions of both conjuncts are true; or (ii) the presupposition of p fails and q is false; or (iii) the presupposition of q fails and p is false. If none of (i)—(iii) is the case, then the

[6] (ii) and (iii) are equivalent to (ii) '$\neg \top p^p \wedge \perp q$, (iii) '$\neg \top q^p \vee \perp p$, respectively. (ii) and (iii), however, bring out the relation between the presuppositions of separate conjuncts and those of the whole conjunction in a more explicit way.

sentence of the form 'p and q' is neither true nor false. It follows that if p and q share the same presupposition, then it becomes a presupposition of the whole conjunction, and of it fails[p]'p and q' becomes neither true nor false.

The presupposition of a conjunctive sentence is thus a very general (although clearly specified) condition imposed on the possible co-occurrence of the failure of presupposition of one constituent sentence and specific truth evaluationof the other constituent sentence.[7] Which of the admitted co-occurrences is the case when a given sentence is uttered is a matter specified by pragmatics.

In agreement with the definition, the sentences below are assigned the truth-values given in parentheses:

1. All of Jack's children are bald and all of his children are naughty (assumption: Jack is childless) ($\frac{1}{2}$)
2. The king of France is bald and France is a monarchy (0)
3. Ruritania exists and its ruler is very powerful (0)
4. The king of France is bald and France is a republic ($\frac{1}{2}$)
5. Ruritania is an imaginary country and its ruler is very powerful ($\frac{1}{2}$)
6. All of Jack's children are bald and Jack has children (assumption: Jack is childless) (0)
7. Jack has children and his sons are bald
   (assumption 1: Jack has two daughters only) ($\frac{1}{2}$)
   (assumption 2: Jack is childless) (0)
8. The lawyer located Susan's only heir and he found the oldest of her heirs
   (assumption 1: Susan has only one heir, and the lawyer didn't find him; or — Susan has more than one heir, and the lawyer didn't find the oldest one) (0)
   (assumption 2: Susan has only one heir, and the lawyer located him; or — Susan has more than one heir, and the lawyer found the oldest one) ($\frac{1}{2}$)
   (assumption 3: Susan has no heirs) ($\frac{1}{2}$)

(1) illustrates a situation in which two conjuncts share the same presupposition which, then, becomes a presupposition of the whole sentence. If it fails, the sentence is neither true nor false.

(2)/(3) show that if the presupposition of one conjunct fails but the other sentence is false, the presupposition of the whole sentence is preserved in agreement with (ii) and (iii) and the sentences are assigned the truth-value: false, as predicated by the truth-table for conjunction.

If, however, the presupposition of one conjunct fails and the other conjunct is true, then none of the conditions specified under (i)-(iii) is fulfilled, and sentences (4)/(5) are assigned the truth-value: neither true nor false because of

[7] It is possible to speak about two sentences, only, because any conjunction can be interpreted as consisting of two conjuncts.

presupposition failure, which follows from the truth-table for conjunction.

(6) exemplifies a situation in which one conjunct expresses the presupposition of the other. If this presupposition fails, the whole sentence is false and not truthvalueless as was counterintuitively predicted by the cumulative hypothesis.

(7) shows that the requirement that the conjunct whose presupposition is true (of the presupposition of the other conjunct fails) must be false forms a part of presupposition of the whole conjunction.

(8) presents the situation in which the presuppositions of two conjuncts are incompatible.

The assignment of truth-values to (1)-(8) seems to be supported by intuitions.

In summary, sentences of the form 'p and q' presuppose what at least one conjunct presupposes. If presupposition of only one conjunct is true, then the requirement that this conjunct be false constitutes a part of presupposition (=condition for the truth or falsity) of the whole conjunction.

In a very similar way presupposition of sentences of the form 'p or q' may be described.

From the truth-table for the connective 'or' it follows that a compound sentence containing this connective is truthvalueless of either both disjuncts are neither true nor false or one of them is truthvalueless with the other being false at the same time:

p \ q	p ∨ q		
	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$
1	1	1	1
0	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$
$\frac{1}{2}$	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$

Consequently, the presupposition of a disjunctive sentence is the condition that the situation described above cannot occur, i.e. if 'p or q' is to be true or false, it is impossible for the presuppositions of both p and q to be false or for the presupposition of one of them to be false with the other disjunct being false at the same time. More formally:

$(p \text{ or } q)^p = (i) \top p^p \wedge \top q^p$

or (ii) $(+p^p \vee \perp p^p) \wedge \top q^p \wedge \top q$

or (iii) $(+q^p \vee \perp q^p) \wedge \top p^p \wedge \top p^s$

' (ii) and (iii) are equivalent to (ii) '$\neg \top p^p \wedge \top q$, (iii) '$\top q^p \wedge \top p$, respectively. (ii) and (iii), however, bring out the relation between the presuppositions of component sentences and those of the whole disjunction in a more explicit way. (I)-(iii) basically correspond to the presupposition of alternative specified as $(p \vee q^p) \& (q \vee p^p)$ and criticized by Soames (1979: 635).

This may be paraphrased as: presupposition of a disjunctive sentence expresses the condition that either (i) the presuppositions of both disjuncts are true or (ii) the presupposition of p fails and q is true; or (iii) the presupposition of q fails and p is true. If none of (i)-(iii) is the case, then the sentence of the form; 'p or q' is neither true nor false. It follows that of p and q share the same presupposition, then it becomes a presupposition of whole disjunction, and if it fails 'p or q' becomes neither true nor false.

The analysis of several sentences[9] will show what kind of predictions follow from defining the presupposition of disjunctive sentences in the way presented above.

9. Either the chairman of the department isn't a skeptic about the external world or the chairman of the department isn't very sensible ≫The department has a chairman
10. Either the king of France isn't wise, or the French generals aren't under the king's control ≫There is a king of France
11. Either every radical in this room will escape, or every one of them will die ≫There is at least one radical in the room
12. Either all of John's children are asleep or none of his children are asleep ≫John has at least one child
13. Either there is no king of France or the king of France is in hiding (1)
14. Either all of Jack's letters have been held up or he has not written any (1)
    (assumption: Jack has written no letters)
15. Either all of Jack's children are asleep or Jack is a castrato ($\frac{1}{2}$)
    (assumption: Jack is childless but not a castrato)
16. Either the king of France is bald or no bald people exist ($\frac{1}{2}$)
17. Either the loan company repossessed Bill's only car, or they repossessed his second car
    (assumption 1: Bill had only one car and the loan company repossessed it or Bill had at least two cars and the loan company repossessed the second car) (1)
    (assumption 2: Bill had only one car and the loan company did not repossess it or Bill had at least two cars and the loan company did not repossess his second car) ($\frac{1}{2}$)
    (assumption 3: Bill had no car) ($\frac{1}{2}$)
18. Either the lawyer located Susan's only heir or his assistant located the oldest of her several heirs.

Examples (9)/(12) show what happens if two disjuncts have the same presupposition. Then this presupposition becomes a presupposition of the whole

[9] Examples (9)-(13) and (17), (18) come from Soames (1979). The distinction between the inclusive and exclusive 'or' was not made there.

disjunctive sentence, and of it fails the sentence is neither true nor false. This follows from (i)-(iii) and from the truth-table for disjunction.

(13)/(14) illustrate the situation in which one disjunct expresses the negation of the presupposition of the other disjunct. If this negation is true, then, naturally, the other disjunct is neither true nor false because of presupposition failure, but the whole compound sentence is true as predicted by (ii) and (iii) and by the truth-table for alternative.

In (15)/(16), the presupposition of one disjunct fails and the other disjunct is false. Consequently, the whole sentence is neither true nor false. This shows that the requirement that the disjunct whose presupposition is true (if the presupposition of the other disjunct fails) must be true forms a part of presupposition of the whole disjunction.

The presuppositions of the two disjuncts in each of (17) and (18) are incompatible. The presupposition of the whole compound sentence is that the presupposition of at least one disjunct must be true with this disjunct being true at the same time. Which of the disjuncts is true is left undecided. Disjunctive sentences with incompatible presuppositions may be true but not false. It follows from the fact that the presuppositions of two disjuncts cannot be true together, so at least one disjunct must be neither true nor false, which prevents the whole disjunction from being false.

(18) requires additional comments. Intuitively, the sentence implies that the lawyer has an assistant and those intuitions should be accounted for. The presupposition of (18) cannot be expressed by (i) because the two disjuncts have incompatible presuppositions. If (iii) is the case, then the second disjunct is true and since it presupposes that the lawyer has an assistant, the implication is not lost. If, however, (ii) is the case, the implication is lost. It follows that the definition of (p or q) T^p allows but does not require "peripheral" presuppositions of particular disjuncts to become parts of the presupposition of a whole sentence. This is an inadequacy of the definition. In all other cases the predictions about (9)-(17) seem to be supported by intuitions.

In summary, sentences of the form 'p or q' presuppose what at least one disjunct presupposes. If presupposition of only one disjunct is true, then the requirement that this disjunct be true constitutes a part of pressupposition of the whole disjunction.

The problem of presuppositions of sentences containing the 'if...then' conjunction is more complicated. Such sentences, called conditionals, are syntactically complex and not compound — the *if-* clause being subordinate to the other clause. The correspondence between natural language conditional sentences and the logical connective of implication is definitely not one to one correspondence. It may even be justified to question the existence of such a correspondence as far as at least some conditional sentences are concerned. The question is to what extent can the 'if ... then' natural language conjunction be

treated as truth-functional, and as such allowing to speak about presuppositions or entailments carried by sentences of the form 'if p then q'.

U. Blau's standpoint (1978:91, 92) is that conditional sentences should not be formalized with the help of his three-valued implication. This logical connective is used for the formalization of sentences with the universal quantifier: All [F] are [G].

The only truth-functional characteristic of natural language conditionals is that if the antecedent is true and the consequent is false, then the whole conditional sentences is false, as in

19. If the king of France doesn't exist, then France is a monarchy

If Blau's standpoint is accepted, then no genuine presuppositions of conditionals exist. Various inferences deducible from conditional sentences should then be drawn in nontruth-conditional terms, ie in terms of implicatures and implications of various types.

It is possible to classify conditionals into various groups, some of which may be claimed to be analysable in truth-conditional terms. One of such classifications is presented by J. Schachter (1971), who also examines the possible presuppositions carried by some conditional sentences.

It seems, however, that no general agreement as far as the theory of conditionals is concerned has been reached. Yet, such a theory is a precondition of an adequate presuppositional analysis of such sentences.

Nevertheless, many linguists, for various purposes, do treat conditional sentences as corresponding to some kind of logical implication. It is interesting to notice that if presuppositions of conditionals were computed from the truth-table for U. Blau's three-valued implication, then at least some of the intuitions would be correctly reflected.

The truth-table for this implication is

p \ q	$p \rightarrow q$		
	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$
1	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$
0	1	1	1
$\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1

It follows that the implication is truthvalueless only if the antecedent is true and the consequent is neither true nor false. Consequently, the presupposition of an implication is

$$(p \rightarrow q)^p = \top p \rightarrow \top q^p$$

since only of it is not the case that true p implies that the presupposition of q is true, the whole implication 'p → q' is truthvalueless.

From this it follows that if[10]

20. If Bill didn't meet the king of Slobovia, he met the president of Slobovia

is to be true or false, then if it is true that Bill didn't meet the king of Slobovia, then it must be true that Slobovia has a president. This does not mean, however, that (20) presupposes the existence of the king of Slobovia or of the president of Slobovia. Similarly, if

21. If the lawyer didn't locate Susan's only heir, he located the oldest of her (several) heirs

is to be true or false, it follows that if it is true that the lawyer didn't locate Susan's only heir, then it must be true that she has several heirs. This is not equivalent to the claim that Susan has one or more heirs. Also, sentences (22), (23) do not presuppose (22a), (23a) but (22b), (23b), which agrees with intuitions.

22. If there is a king of France, then the king of France is in hiding
22a. The king of France exists
22b. If it is true that the king of France exists, then it must be true that France has a king
23. If John has children, then all of his children are intelligent
23a. John has children
23b. If it is true that John has children, then it must be true that he is not childless[11]

The analysis of conditional sentences constitutes a separate issue. Only an adequate theory of such sentences may be a starting point for the proper investigation of the problem of their possible presuppositions.

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[10] Examples (20)-(23) come from Soames (1979).

[11] The tautologous character of (22b), (23b), follows from the fact that the antecedents of (22), (23) express the presuppositions of the respective consequents.

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THE EXPRESSION OF PRESENT AND PAST TIME IN THE ENGLISH PREDICATE*

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The proper use of the English verbal forms has long been a mystery to foreign learners of English. The Perfect forms (Present Past and Future) present special difficulties to foreigners including the Hungarians, and many language learners seem to be at a loss even at a relatively advanced level of the language learning process. An additional fact encouraging this investigation is that there seems to be wide disagreement among various scholars concerning the meaning of the Perfect forms, which has not been satisfactorily defined as yet.

This paper will first discuss time specification in a general context which will be followed by an analysis of the English verbal forms referring to either present or past time.

1. *Time specification*

1.1. Time in its philosophical sense is not identical with the time reflected in language. Time as a general notion exists whether we take notice of it or not. The time reflected in language is the result of a psychological process. It is a

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* List of abbreviations and symbols:

V	verb stem
V-s	3rd person singular, Simple Present (in English)
V-ni	infinitive (in Hungarian)
V-ed	Simple past (in English) also for the type: *write+ed→wrote
V-n	past participle (in English)
V-ing	present participle (in English)
-Ø-	zero morpheme signalling the Present in Hungarian
-T-	morpheme signalling the Past in Hungarian (realized as -t-, -tt-, -ott, -ett, -ött, -ta, -te)
-f	inflectional ending for number and person in Hungarian, symbolized by the respective English personal pronoun in the transcription of Hungarian verb forms.
-Ø	zero morpheme for 3rd person singular inflectional ending in Hungarian.

psychological and linguistic interpretation of objective time. This difference between the two kinds of time can be explained by the fact that man is involved in this interpretation: the human being is there who perceives the surrounding world, selects among the various elements of reality, sets up a hierarchy of these elements — some being more important to him than others, compares them to each other, tries to make some systematic order among these elements of reality pouring in through the senses, and, translates them into his own code-system that is called linguistic expression. It can be seen from what has been said above that a good deal of subjectivity is involved (generalization, simplification, emotions, etc.). Let us just consider how short sometimes ten minutes can be, and, some other time how long it is.

The difference between the two kinds of time seems to be very much like the difference between a photograph and a painting of the same thing.

1.2. Time, in the linguistic sense of the word, is a complex category, so some elementary distinctions are necessary to be made. Kiefer (1980: 1 – 2) says in his paper that "sentences may exhibit two different types of temporal categories. The first type situates the sentence with respect to utterance time" while "the second type of temporal categories does not situate the event at hand with respect to the time of utterance, it rather describes the time during which this event takes place." Kiefer calls the first category *external time specification* and the second one *internal time specification*.

As far as the first category is concerned, it seems to be useful to adopt Reichenbach's (1947) notions of temporal specification. He distinguishes between *Speech Time*, *Reference Time*, and *Event Time*. Speech Time is the time at which a given sentence is uttered, that is, the moment of utterance (or: moment of speaking). Reference Time is the time indicated by the sentence. Event Time refers to the moment at which the relevant event or state occurs.

Now, let us see how the three times of temporal specification are related to each other. Consider:

(1) I *understand* it now.

In (1) all the three times are identical with one another. Both Reference Time and Event Time are identical with Speech Time.

(2) I *understood* it yesterday.

In (2) Speech Time is the moment of speaking. Reference Time and Event Time are identical, and they are prior to Speech Time.

(3) I *have understood* it now.

In (3) Speech Time and Reference Time are identical, Event Time is prior to them.

(4) I *had* already *understood* it (before you explained it).

In (4) all the three times are different. Reference Time is prior to Speech Time, Event Time is prior to Reference Time.

It is impossible to have sentences in which Event Time is identical with Speech Time and Reference Time is prior to them because that would mean that an event or state occurring at the moment of speaking has only relevance at a time earlier than the moment of speaking.

There is, however, a question standing out here. Can any of the three times be missing? It is quite obvious that even if so, it cannot be Speech Time. The same can be said of Reference Time bearing in mind the function that communication has to fulfil. A sentence without having relevance at some time would not make much sense. However, consider the following sentence:

(5) Oil *floats* on water.

In (5) Reference Time is unspecified, it can be identical with any moment of time including Speech Time, and Event Time is not indicated. Thus, (5) can be regarded as a sentence with *incomplete time specification*.

It follows from what has been said above that Speech Time is of crucial importance since Reference Time is oriented to it. Thus, Speech Time may be called a *primary axis of orientation*. Present Time means that reference time is simultaneous with Speech Time, Past Time means that Reference Time precedes Speech Time, and Future Time means that Reference Time follows Speech Time. It is also evident that Reference Time, too, is a non-omissible element of temporal specification because Event Time is given in relation to it. Thus, Reference Time might be called a *secondary axis of orientation*. Event Time may be simultaneous with it, as well as precede it. So, Event Time is, in fact, double-oriented.

1.3. So far, we have been concerned with external time specification, i.e. we have been examining how events are situated with respect to the time of speaking. However, events do not only take place in time but they also take time to take place. Bull (1960:17) Internal time specification, as it has already been mentioned, describes the time during which an event takes place. From this point view, of events are not all alike. (It has to be emphasized that 'event' is used throughout this paper as a cover-term for the lexical meaning that a full-verb expresses in an utterance.) It seems to be necessary to have a look at the various kinds of events, too, in order to be able to investigate the time expressed by the verb (henceforth verbal time). Compare the following sentences:

(6) I *knew* him very well.
(7) He *got up* early today.
(8) I *was watching* the TV last night.
(9) He *died* yesterday.
(10) I *waited* there.

(11) He *entered* the room.
(12) He *bought* a coat last week.
(13) He *talked* a lot.

All the sentences above refer to Past Time. On a closer look, we find that (6) describes a *state* while the sentences (7—13) denote *actions*. (8) is in opposition with (9) on grounds that *was watching* describes an *imperfective* activity whereas *died* is a *perfective* event. *Waited* in (10) denotes a durative action; *entered* in (11) is non durative (momentary). (12) denotes a telic event, while (13) describes an atelic one. To define the kind of event a verb describes will be important whe the English verbal forms are compared to their Hungarian counter parts.

1.4. It must be stated, however, that verbal time in itself may not be sufficient to give a precise indication of the time at which an event takes place. Consider:

(14) Four years ago, I *am* over to Belfast, ...
(15) I *ate* my lunch after my wife *came* home.
(16) Joan *tells* me you're getting a new car.
(17) I *hear* that you're getting married.

In (14) an adverbial of time specifies when the event took place, while in (15) precise time specification is ensured by an adverbial clause. In (16—17) it is context that suggests that *Joan tells me* and *I hear* refer to events earlier than Speech Time. Note also that V, V-s refer to past time events in (14) and (16-17). It is also worth considering what stylistic role such a device has got to play. These are all further important issues that are not to be neglected

It follows automatically that a comprehensive analysis of the meaning of the English Perfect cannot be limited to the discussion of verbal time alone, an adequate definition of the meaning of the perfect forms requires an investigation in a much wider context.

2. Time specification in English

In this section, the various English verbal forms will be confronted and analysed in relation to one another. Emphasis will be laid on the confrontations with the Perfect forms, but it is also necessary to have a look at oppositions other than with the Perfect to reveal the real meaning of the forms under investigation.

2.1. From a formal point of view, *Past* and *Non-Past* (V-ed versus V, V-s) are signalled in English by a morphological device, Past being the marked member of the opposition, while the other forms are syntactic units. V-ed and V,

V-s constitute a primary category traditionally termed as the category of *tense*.

(18) I *work* hard. (Non-Past)
(19) I *worked* hard. (Past)

The morphologically indicated opposition underlies all other forms, as well. Cf:

	Non-Past	Past
Cont.	I am working hard.	I was working hard.
Perf.	I have worked hard.	I had worked hard.
Perf.-Cont.	I have been working hard.	I had been working hard.

Table 1.

To speak in terms of external time specification, the Non-Past form refers to events where both Reference Time and Event Time are identical with Speech Time. See sentences (1) and (18). As far as Past in concerned, Reference Time and Event Time are identical, but they are earlier than Speech Time. See sentences (2) and (19). In other words, V, V-s indicate the occurrence of an action or the existence of a state *now*, where *now* can be either the moment of speaking (Speech Time, or any length of time including *now* (taken as one chronological whole).

As far as the V-ed form is regarded, it is used to describe past time events, i.e. it indicates the occurrence of an action or existence of a state in the past. Past means any time point or span earlier than *now*, and which does not include *now*. The point of reference (Reference Time) is a recalled time *then*. The speaker's point of primary concern is with this *then*. Event Time is identical with this recalled *then*. (It should be noted in brackets that English does not distinguish between recent and remote past time unlike some Romance languages e.g. Italian.)

The above statement needs, however, to be refined since V, V-s and V-ed also occur in utterances that reflect a time specification other than described above. Consider the examples (5), (14), (16—17) as well as the following ones:

(20) I *wondered* if you'd like a drink.
(21) *Did* you *want* to see me, Mr Baxter?
(22) Yes, I *hoped* you'd help me with this.
(23) Well, I *thought* we might as well go to see them now.

As the example *Oil floats on water* illustrates, the Non-Past form is used in English to express incomplete time specification. Further distinction can, however, be made here as regards this use of the V. V-s form. Cf:

(24) Hydrogen *is* the lightest element.
(25) Two and three *make* five.
(26) Budapest *stands* on the River Danube.
(27) The Atlantic Ocean *separates* the New World from the Old.
(28) Necessity *is* the mother of invention.
(29) Action *speaks* louder than words.
(30) War *solves* no problems.

On close examination, it can be seen that (24—25) express *timeless* proposition, i.e. Reference Time is unspecified (it is impossible to specify it), and Event Time is not indicated (it is not possible to associate it with any moment of time). The statements in (26—27) are made *'for all time'* with both the Reference Time and Event Time unspecified, i.e. the statements are valid at any moment of time. Very similar to (24—27) are the so-called *eternal truths*, proverbs and proverb-like statements, e.g. (28—30). To make distinction between statements with incomplete time specification is sometimes difficult, and it is very often context that helps us to decide which type of incompleteness is expressed. Note the difference between (30) and the very same sentence with a different subject:

(31) His party *solves* no problems.

In (31) the idea of 'timelessness' is no longer present.

The Non-Past form can also be used to describe events whose Reference Time and Event Time are prior to Speech Time as shown by (14). This use of the form V, V-s (and also is V-ing) is known by the term Historic Present. E.g.:

(32) "It was this way, your ladyship. Mr. Mosgorowsky, he *come* with a party to visit Chimneys on one of the show days. Mr. Tredwell, he was indisposed like — an ingrowing toe-nail as a matter of fact — so it fell to me to show the parties over. At the end of the tour, Mr. Mosgorovsky, he *stays* behind the rest, and after giving me something handsome, he *falls* into conversation. "Yes," said Bundle encouragingly. "And the long and the short of it was", said Alfred with a sudden acceleration of his narrative, "that he *offers* me a hundred pound down to leave that insta : minute and to look after this here club". (SDM 83 - 84)

With Historic Present past happenings are portrayed or imagine ' : s if they were going on at the moment of speaking, i.e. both Reference Time and Event Time are identified with Speech Time (shifted ahead in time). Leech (1971:7) writes the following about Historic Present;

> "Such utterances are typical of a highly-coloured popular style of oral narrative, a style one would be more likely to overhear in the public bar of a village inn than in the lounge of an expensive hotel".

As the examples (16—17) indicate there are some other instances, too, where the Non-Past form refers to events that are clearly past. This use occurs with a

group of verbs that are traditionally termed as verbs of communication. Further examples:

(33) The Times *writes* that ...
(34) The ten o'clock news *says* that ...
(35) I *understand* that you've bought a new car.

Now, the question may arise whether the Past form can ever refer to events whose Reference Time and Event Time are identical with Speech Time. The fact that it can is shown by the examples (20—23) where the events are clearly non-past. The form V-ed (and was V-ing, too) often occur in English in indirect, therefore more polite requests. The polite connotation here can be explained as a hint that the speaker is not necessarily committed to the feelings mentioned and that he is quite prepared to change his own attitude in the light of that of the listener. Requests expressed in such a way have a less demanding tone. The form was V-ing is often preferred in such contexts, as it adds a further overtone of politeness. What we can see here is that both Reference Time and Event Time are shifted back from Speech Time, with which they are in fact identical, to a time earlier than Speech Time.

2.2. The meaning of the form V, V-s was discussed in relation to V-ed in 2.1. Here, it will be dealt with as opposed to the form has V-n.

Both V, V-s and has V-n are present in that they both contact the moment of speaking, they both refer to present facts. They occur in present time contexts. Adverbial indicators also prove this. Both verbal forms are compatible with present time adverbials, e.g.: now, this moment, today, this week, this..., in 1984 (the current year), etc. They both describe states or actions with Reference Times identical with Speech Time.

However, the form has V-n, unlike V, V-s, indicates the occurrence of an action or existence of a state in or for a period of time extending from some time in the past till the moment of speaking. For this reason, has V-n can be called a *period verb-form*, while V, V-s is a *non-period verb-form*. Has V-n deals with the timespan stretching backward into the past from 'now', while V, V-s deals with 'now', the length of which is irrelevant (Akira 1963:41). The linguistic expression V, V-s says nothing about the length of duration before or after the present moment. Compare:

(36) I *have been married* to her for twelve years. (LE 308)
(37) ... I've always *been* dangerous. (i.e. so far) (BE 40—41)
(38) I *am married* to her.
(39) I *am* (always) dangerous.

It is also shown by the above examples that the length of the timespan expressed by the Present Perfect is either indicated by an adverbial (example (36)) or implied (example (37)).

It follows automatically from what was said above that an event expressed by has V-n presupposes a period, between t_1 and t_2. As the end-point of the timespan is the point 'now', i.e. the moment of speaking, t_2=Speech Time. It is also evident that t_1 is earlier than t_2. So, to characterize the has V-n form in terms of the criteria of external time specification, it can be stated that Reference Time is identical with Speech Time, and Event Time is between t_1 and t_2, but it is not — and it cannot be — identical with t_2, i.e. Event Time is earlier than Speech Time. It is obvious that Event Time cannot be identical with t_2 because that would result in the following formula:

Reference Time=Speech Time
Event Time=t_2=Speech Time

As a matter of fact, the above formula characterizes V, V-s, and, of course, V, V-s≠has V-n. It must be noted here that in the case of incomplete time specification there is no Event Time indication.

As the form has V-n involves two time points (t_1 and t_2), it is compatible with adverbials beginning with *since* and *for*. See example (36) and also the following ones:

(40) I'*ve known* her since she was a child.
(41) They *have lived* in Sidney for five years.
(42) I *have not seen* him since we left college.
(43) She *has not been* there since 1977.

A comment, however, seems necessary here. Actions or states expressed by has V-n may or may not characterize the whole of the period between t_1 and t_2, i.e. the end-point of a state or action denoted by has V-n does not necessarily coincide with t_2, the end-point of the timespan presupposed. Cf:

(44) I *have* already *been* to London.
(45) I have *been married* several times.
(46) I am cold because I'*ve been swimming* for an hour.
(47) Sorry for my dirty hands, I'*ve been cleaning* out the cellar.

As far as the form V, V-s is concerned, it is incompatible with *since*,

(48) *I *know* her since she was a child.

because *since* refers to a period between t_1 and t_2, the field of operation of the form has V-n. As regards V, V-s: t_1=t_2=Event Time=Speech Time. However, V, V-s is compatible with *for*. Consider:

(49) I *am* here for an hour.
(50) I always *see* her for minutes only.
(51) He *reads* the paper for hours.

In (49-51) *for* does not refer to a period between t_1 and t_2, a timespan from some time in the past till the moment of speaking ,but it refers to a period around the moment of speaking (the restricted use of the V, V-s form). Such sentences indicate the limited existence of a state or the limited occurrence of an action *now*. Compare (52), 53), and (54), (55)

(52) He *is* here for two weeks.
(53) He *has been* here for two weeks.
(54) She *cries* for hours.
(55) She *has cried* for hours.

A consequence of the period nature of has V-n is its *temporal indefiniteness*, because has V-n specifies only the end-point of the period, but the time of the event is never fully determined. Has V-n never answers the question 'When?'. The only thing we can learn is 'For how long?' 'Since when?' in a period between t_1 and t_2. On the other hand, V, V-s can be identified with the point *now* or with a present segment of time taken as one chronological whole (with the exception of the instances of incomplete time specification). Thus, we may call it *temporally definite*,

A third difference between V, V-s and has V-n lies in their descriptive approach, the first one being *direct*, the latter *indirect*. V, V-s describes the present in a direct way, i.e. the time of what we describe is indetical with the time of the action/state that we name. (Reference Time = Event Time) E.g.:

(56) I *know* India well.
(57) She *is crying*.
(58) He *reads* poems
(59) She *doesn't want* to get married again.
(60) My parents *smoke* a lot.

Has V-n describes the present in an indirect way, i.e. the time of the action/state that we name precedes present, the time of what we describe. (Present fact, pre-present state/action). In other words, Event Time is earlier than Reference Time.

The present facts expressed in sentences (56-60) could be described indirectly. E.g. the situation in (56) could be described by saying 'I have been to India/ I have read a lot about India/ My friends have told me a lot about India', etc. Accordingly, (57) may be the result of 'She has fallen down /Her mother has scolded her/ She has cut her finger', etc. 'He has been studying poetry /His girl-friend has bought a book by Shelley for him/ He has always liked poetry', etc. may describe the situation in (58). Similar indirect ways can be found to describe facts expressed in (59-60).
With has V-n, the action/state is not mentioned for its own sake but for the sake of a subsequent state in the present.

Symbolically:

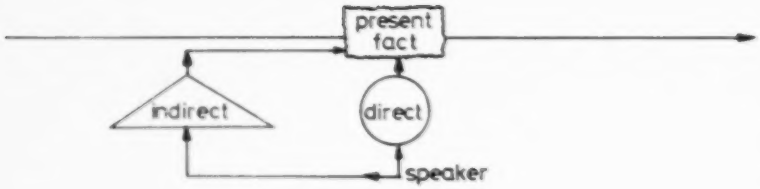

Table 2.

The choice of approach — either direct or indirect — very much appears to be a matter of the speaker's personal style. V, V-s states present facts, the speaker offers facts 'ready made' and very little is left to the listener's imagination. The listener is to take the present fact for granted, and, one is to see things as the speaker sees them. (The direct approach implies the speaker's subjectivity of judgement.) Has V-n, on the other hand, does not present the fact 'ready made'. The very essence of the indirect approach is that it gives the source(s) of a present fact only, thus leaving it to the listener to deduct the present consequences, i.e. to derive a present fact from its 'roots'. When using the has V-n form, the speaker tries to avoid subjectivity thus trying to be more convincing. (This seems to be a sort of 'judge-it-for-yourself' approach.) The has V-n form very often has an explanatory, confirming, reinforcing function. For reasons of emphasis, the two approaches can also be combined. E.g.:

(61) Leslie's the best woman in the world. ... *I've been married* to her for twelve years, do you think I don't know her? (LE 308)

(62) Oh, he's a sort of family jeweller. ... *He's known* me ever since I was six. (BE 49)

(63) Ah, there's no city like Paris for gaiety, movement, excitement. ... *I' ve been* to the Moulin Rouge, ... and *I' ve been* to all the Bohémian cafés. Hot stuff! (LC 74)"

(64) "*I' ve done* very well," said Segal. "I am still alive". (RET 12)

(65) Of course, you' re fond of him. You've *known* him all your life. (SA 79)

The following example clearly illustrates how difficult it is for the dumbfounded father to find the right approach (indirect or direct). (He has just learned that his beloved daughter may have gone too far in some dubious love affair). See (66) (CU 157)

(66) "Judith, you *haven't* ___ *you aren't* ___"
I could not put my meaning into words. She shook her arm free from my detaining hand.
"Now listen, Father. I do what I choose. You can't bully me."

From the point of view of time reference, we can say, the indirect approach separates the time of reference from the time of the action/state; has V-n describes a present fact through some past action/state.

2.3. As we have seen, both V-ed and has V-n refer to actions/states taking place before the moment of speaking. The question thus may arise: What is then the difference between them? We may very well put that qusetion, especially, when we see examples like these:

(67) I cannot go to her house, ask to see her and when I am shown into the drawing room say: 'Voilá, I *have come* to ask you to marry me.' (MC 286)

(68) We talked for a quarter of an hour. And then I said to myself: Allons-y. I said to her: ... 'I *came* to ask you to do me the honour of marrying me.' (ibid. 287)

The meanings the two forms singal are basically different from each other:

V-*ed*	*has V-n*
past	non-past
definite	indefinite
non-period verb-form	period verb-from
direct approach	indirect approach

Table 3.

Symbolically:

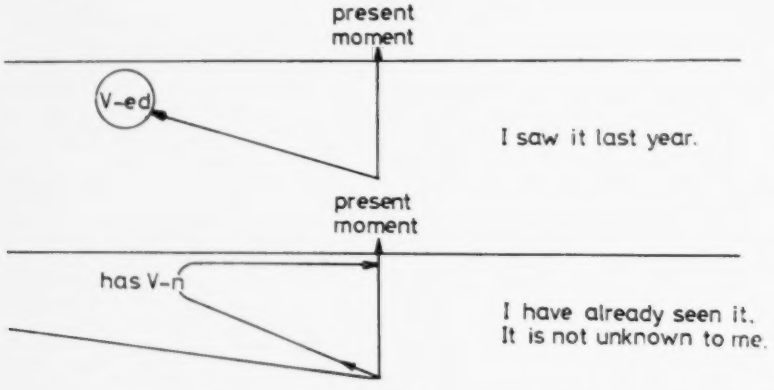

Table 4.

The Present Perfect is not opposed to the Past in terms of time; both refer to the time before the moment of speaking. The difference between '*I have written a letter*' and '*I wrote a letter*' is usually described in terms of Reference

Time — 'current relevance' which is present in the has V-n construction and missing in V-ed. However a little note is necessary. Though, both the Present Perfect and the Past refer to past time, there is a difference in the way they do so. The Past specifies the past time it refers to (definite past), while the Perfect does not (indefinite past). (See illustration above).

It has already been seen that the Event Time of a state/action expressed by the form has V-n is between t_1 and t_2 with t_2 being identical with Speech Time and t_1 is earlier. The Event Time of a state/action referred to by V-ed is a recalled time *then*. Because states/actions expressed by the Past form can be identified with the point *then* or with a past segment of time taken as one chronological whole, V-ed can be called a *non-period verb-form*, and, for the same reason, it is *definite*. V-ed does answer the question 'When?'. As stated earlier, *then* can also be a past segment of time between t_a and t_b, but neither of them contacts the moment of speaking, both of them are prior to Speech Time, t_a being earlier than t_b. From the point of view of descriptive approach, V-ed is *direct*. Reference Time is identical with Event Time. Reference and Event is not separated. The time of the fact we describe is identical with the time of the action/state we name.

V-ed is used when the SPPC is with the past action/state itself, whereas has V-n draws our attention to the present consequences of the past action/state, i.e. to its *current relevance*, Thus, statements like 'I was in India/I heard a lot about India/My friends told me a lot about India.' will not imply that 'I know India well.'

The different functions account for the temporal definiteness of V-ed and the temporal indefiniteness of has V-n. (From the viewpoint of function, a comparison is often drawn between V-ed and has V-n and the definite and indefinite articles.)

To indicate that an action/state is in the definite/indefinite past, adverbials have a significant role to play. They reinforce the meaning of the tense form. Adverbials referring to past time can be devided into two groups:

(a) adverbials that specify the time of the action/state. Eg. yesterday (tegnap), ... ago (-val/-vel ezelőt), last ... (az elmúlt...), the other day (a minap), in those days (akkor/akkoriban), then (akkor).

(b) adverbials that do not specify the time of the action/state. Eg. never (sohasem), already (már), yet? (már?), not yet (még nem), once, twice, x times (egyszer, kétszer, x-szer), earlier (korábban), so far (ezidáig), before (eddig még), ever (valaha is), and last but not least: zero adverbial.

It must be mentioned though that Akira (1963: 21—24) finds that only 9,2% of the V-ed forms in his material is accompanied by some adverbial indicator and that there are a number of adverbials that can occur with both V-ed and has V-n. This means that reference to a definite past time is an essential element of the V-ed form in itself.

(69) Yes, I *saw* her with you last night. (BE 39)
Igen, tegnap este veled *láttam*. (lit: see-T-I)

(70) At the age of 45 he *became* a recluse and would see no one. (BBC "Twenty-four hours", 1979, 06.1.)
Negyvenöt éves korában egy remete *lett* belőle, és senkit sem volt hajlandó fogadni. (lit: become-T-he)

(71) But yesterday, I suddenly *realized* that I had made a grave error. (EH 179)
De tegnap hirtelen *rájöttem*, hogy súlyos hibát követtem el. (lit: realize-T-I)

(72) I *saw* it only the other day in that drawer. (EH 29)
Épp a minap *láttam* abban a fiókban. (lit: see-T-I)

(73) A moment later they *reappeared*, ... (EH 172)
Egy perccel később *újra megjelentek*. (lit: reappear-T-they)

(74) And even then, I *saw* nothing. (EH 22)
Ésmég akkor sem *láttam* semmit. (lit: see-T-I)

(75) It *fell* in the night. (EH 26)
Az éjjel *leesett*. (lit: fall-T-it)

(76) Your cousin, Mrs Melford *rang up* Mummy yesterday afternoon. (BE 62)
Mrs Melford, az unokanővéred tegnap délután *felhívta* anyámat. (lit: ring-T-she up)

(77) I don't know his name, but he *has* already *paid* two drinks for me. (MC 278)
Nem tudom a nevét, de már *fizetett* nekem két pohárral. (lit: pay-T-he)

(78) We *haven't* exactly *proved* it yet. (SA 58)
Hát még valójában nem *bizonyítottuk*. (lit: prove-T-we)

(79) Odd I *haven't seen* you here before. (BE 13—14)
Különös, hogy eddig még nem *láttalak* itt. (lit: see-T-I-you)

(80) *Have* you never *been* anywhere even for a trip? (LC 73)
Még sohasem *voltál* sehol. akár csak egy kis kiruccanáson is? (lit: be-T-you)

(81) By the way, *have* you *shown* yourself to Miss Tuppence yet? (SA 132)
Apropó, *megmut attad* már magad Miss Tuppence-nek? (lit: show-T-you)

(82) *Have* you *shown* him the animals? (MC 279)
Megmutattad neki az *állatokat*? (lit: show-T-you)

(83) I guess every pair of lovers *has said* that sometime or another. (SA 109)
Azt hiszem, minden szerelmespár *mondott* már ilyet valamikor. (lit: say-T-it)

V-ed can occur with or without a time adverbial. If it occurs without a time indicator, the past time context (Reference Time) must be established first so that it can be clear what definite past time is referred to by the verbal form

V-ed. (Compare the introductory function of the indefinite article and the anaphoric use of *'the'*).

2.4. A definite past time fact can, of course, be described in an indirect way too. The verbal form had V-n (Past Perfect), which is the Past form for has V-n, serves this purpose. The following illustration will show the direct (by V-ed) and indirect (by had V-n) ways of describing past time facts:

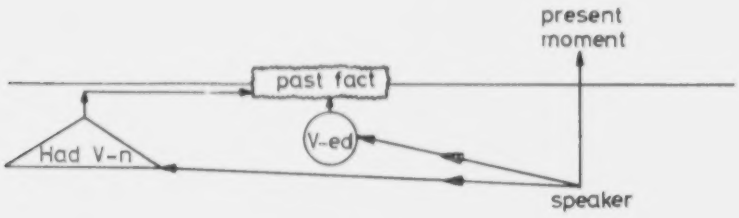

Table 5.

(84) He was a very tall lad, thin, with a slight stoop, he was only eighteen and *had grown* too fast for his strength. (MI 291)

(85) About sixty boys and young men entered the hospital every year; they were most of them shy and confused by the new life they were entering upon; many *had* never *been* in London before. (ibid.)

(86) ... and now he felt warm and excited. Three small whiskies *had gone* to his head and Gallaher's strong cigar *had confused* his mind, for he was a delicate and abstinent person. (LC 88—78)

(87) The old personal charm was still there under this new gaudy manner. And, after all, Gallaher *had lived*, he *has seen* the world. Little Chandler looked at his friend enviously. (ibid. 74)

The function of had V-n is very much similar to that of the has V-n form with the difference though that had V-n is concerned that with a past fact, and, to describe it in its indirect way, it refers to actions/states taking place in or for a period of time leading up to the moment *then* (pre-past period). The end-point of this period is the point *then*. The time indicated by had V-n is earlier than the one expressed by V-ed. Had V-n refers to actions/states anterior to those indicated by V-ed. So, the distinguishing features of had V-n are: past time and indirect approach. In terms of external time specification Reference Time is prior to Speech Time, and Event Time is prior to Reference Time. The Past Perfect covers an area of meaning — further in the past — equivalent to both the Past and the Present Perfect. So, the form had V-n is *both definite and indefinite*, and for that matter, both a *period and a non-period verb-form*. For the *period, indefinite* use see sentences (84—87). In English, there is no separate

form to convey a definite, non-period, pre-past idea. Consider:

(88) The police found Billy. He *had* run *away* from home five days before.
(89) The parcel *had arrived* on April 15th but Mother kept it in secret.

It was stated earlier, that the has V-n form expresses events taking place in a period between t_1 and t_2, with t_2 identical with Speech Time, and t_1 earlier than t_2. Accordingly, it can be pointed out that the verbal form had V-n describes events taking place in a period between t_0 and t_1, with t_0 earlier than t_1. The actual occurrence of the event may either be temporally fixed in relation to t_1 (definite use) or may not be fixed, thus indicating the occurrence of an action or existence of a state some time between t_0 and t_1 (indefinite use).

It must be noted here that had V-n is often replaceable by V-ed in English, if an adverbial indicator makes it clear that a time earlier than t_1 is referred to. (Usually with *after* and *before*.)

2.5. So far the Continuous forms have deliberately been disregarded because they can better be discussed here when investigating the matter of internal time specification in English. As was pointed out in 1.3., internal time specification describes the time during which an event takes place, and shows the way an event is viewed.

The Continuous and Non-Continuous forms constitute the category, traditionally termed as the category of *aspect*, that describes events internally.

From a formal point of view, the Continuous form is the marked member of the opposition signalled by 'to be+V-ing'. The Continuous forms can be combined with the other verbal forms:

	Non-Continuous	Continuous
Non-Past	V, V-s	is V-ing
Past	V-ed	was V-ing
Non-Past Perf.	has V-n	has been V-ing
Past Perf.	had V-n	had been V-ing

Table 6.

As opposed to the synoptic (or: factual) interpretation of events by the Non-Continuous forms, the basic function of the Continuous forms is to describe events in *progress* at a time (period or nonperiod) referred to by the aspectually non-marked member of the opposition.

(90) *Is* La dy Sedgwick *staying* here? (BE 26)
(91) What *are* you *trying* to say, Derek? (BE 40)
(92) *Are* you *suggesting* it really was Mr Justice Ludgrove? Come now, Davy.

No, *I'm not suggesting* that it was Mr Justice Ludgrove and that he was mixed up in a bank robbery. (BE 34—5)

(93) Within the confines of Scotland Yard a conference was in progress. ... Six or seven men *were sitting* easily around a table. ... Sir Ronald Graves, ..., *was presiding* at the head of the table. No formal reports *were being presented* on this occasion. (BE 30)

(94) Still, there Bess Sedgwick *was, looking* as usual very smart, in her dark suit and her emerald shirt, *lunching* at a table with a man. A young man with a lean hawklike face, *wearing* a black leather jacket. They *were leaning* forward talking earnestly together, *forking* in mouthfuls of food as though they were quite unaware what they *were eating*. (BE 54)

(95) Your, wife. ... She's *been waiting* down in the office since evening with two young ladies. (LM 409)

(96) Frankly, things look bad for him. He's *been butting* in somewhere where he wasn't wanted. No doubt of it. But don't give up hope. (SA 81)

(97) The red-faced sheperd offered her the fork with which he *had been stirring* the kettle of stew. (BR 77)

(98) She was carrying a pack on her back and walked swiftly, although she *had* already *been walking* for three days. (BR 75)

(99) My brother Gábor's house was full of smoke and steam. ... They'd *been heating* the place this evening because of the cold ... (FC 282)

As the examples above show, events may be in progress at any time described by the forms V, V-s, V-ed, has V-n, had V-n. It can also be seen that the Continuous forms do not alter the verbal time referred to by external time specification. It follows from the basic function of the Continuous forms that events thus described are *incomplete* and they have *duration* or their duration is stressed. Since these forms focus attention on the progression of the event, it is implied that the situations described in such a way are *temporary* ones. The emphasis on the temporary nature of such events gives an emotional colouring to events that are not normally described by the Continuous forms.

In keeping with what has been said so far, the following conclusion can be made: the category of tense situates the event at hand in time, while the category of aspect describes events taking place in time.

However, it seems necessary to come back on the question of the Perfect forms once again. So far, the Perfect forms have been investigated from the point of view of verbal time, i.e. we have been trying to answer the question: 'What function do the Perfect forms have in external time specification?' But the Perfect forms characterize events in not only this one way. The category to which the Perfect forms belong views an action/state not only as one being prior to Reference Time but as being an accomplished fact at Reference Time, i.e. a fact belonging to, valid at, a point of reference (present, past or future). In the

context of internal time specification, the opposition of Perfect and Non-Perfect forms can thus be formulated:

event	versus	accomplished event

This second function of the Perfect may be even more important than the first one, since an accomplished event at a point of reference is supposed to have taken place earlier, hence is the distinction between 'pastness' and 'anteriority' made by many grammarians.

To complete the discussion over time specification in English, there is one more important opposition left to be analysed. This opposition can be set up between telic and atelic verbal meanings. Bauer (1970:191) quoting Garey defines the criterion of the distinction in the following way:

> "If one was *verb*ing, but was interrupted while *verbing*, has one *verbed*? If the answer is Yes, the action evidently does not have to reach a goal or conclusion to be fully realized, but is realized as soon as it begins and is therefore atelic. If the answer is No, this means that the interruption must have prevented the action from reaching its goal or conclusion; the verb is thus telic".

This distinction is essential to be made because there are two factors that determine whether the Perfect forms refer to an accomplished fact or not: (a) the lexical type of the verb, (b) co-occurrence with some adverbials.

The lexical meaning of telic verbs in such that they imply that the action tends towards and reaches a certain goal. Atelic verbs do not imply any goal of the action. All state verbs are atelic, action verbs are either atelic or telic. In keeping with the definition quoted above, momentary verbs should also be included among the telic verbs, since they can hardly be interrupted. Here are a few examples of telic verbs (100—106) which will be followed by sentences with atelic verbs (107—113):

(100) We *have persuaded* him to try again.
(101) I'*ve achieved* only half of what I hoped to do.
(102) He'*s* just *bought* this car.
(103) They'*ve sold* their house.
(104) *Have* you *found* your pen?
(105) He *has kicked* the ball too hard.
(106) He *has* just *entered* the building.
(107) They *have waited* there for hours.
(108) She *has been* here for years.
(109) I *have lived* here ten years.
(110) I *have loved* her all her life.
(111) We *have known* each other for many years now.

(112) *They have been staying* in Budapest since last May.
(113) *I have always admired* her.

From a semantic point of view, an unaccomplished fact may be either a state or a process continuing in the moment of speaking. A state cannot be a process. A state exists or does not exist, but it involves no notion of movement towards completion. Process means continual change. It means that the action has already started and that it is now moving towards a completion, but has not come to completion yet. So, process involves incompletion. Many action verbs have, as an element of the lexical meaning, an inherent notion of incompletion.

The meaning of the Perfect with a telic verb is that the event is an accomplished fact at the point of reference and it also suggests that the event has reached its goal. The Perfect with an atelic verb also indicates an accomplished fact, but there is no reference to the event having reached any goal since the verbal meaning itself does not imply any notion of goal. Telic verbs with the Perfect Continuous form — owing to the meaning 'event-in-progress' — indicate that the goal of the action has not been reached yet, while atelic verbs with the same verbal form express the notion of accomplished fact that action has been in progress for some indefinite time between t_1 and t_2.

As it has been indicated in the introduction this paper has been concerned with only verbal meaning and the analysis of the temporal information that the verbal part of the predicate carries. For a more complete treatment of the subject how English expresses time in general, an investigation of some other factors seems also to be necessary. The analysis of the role that other structural elements play in an English sentence (e.g. adverbials) can further broaden our knowledge about time expression in English. On the other hand, factors outside the limits of a sentence (e.g. context, situation, style) do also have an impact on the meaning of a verbal form in an English sentence.

The investigation of these further factors can be the subject of a subsequent study in the matter of time expression in English.

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EH ———— *Peril at End House*. Pan Books, London, 1966
BE ———— *Bertram's Hotel*. Fontana Books, Glasgow, 1975
SDM ———— *The Seven Dials Mystery*, Bantam Books, N. Y. 1976
CU ———— *The Curtain*, N. Y., 1976
LC Joyce, James, *A Little Cloud*, in *Dubliners*, Penguin Books, 1970
MC Maugham, W. Somerset, *A Marriage of Convenience*, in *Collected Short Stories* vol. 4., Penguin Books, 1972
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PS ———— *Princess September*, ibid.

LE: ———— *The Letter*, (ind).
RET: Sárai, Sándor, *Retreat*.
BB: Móricz, Zsigmond, *Boldog*, in: 48 Hungarian Short Stories, (Corvina Kiadó, Budapest, 1979)
FC: Veres, Péter, *Family Circle*, (ind).
LM: Thurzó, Gábor, *The Lion's Mane*, (ind).

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ELLIPSIS AS A COHESIVE DEVICE IN ENGLISH AND POLISH: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

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0.1. Opening remarks

Ellipsis as a cohesive device in sentence connection merits a closer contrastive analysis not only because of its pedagogical implications, but more importantly because of its high frequency of occurrence and significant differences that English and Polish in this very instance reveal. Shopen and Swieczkowski (1976) begin their paper on ellipsis with a kind of motto; "A command of ellipsis is a part of knowing a language", and observe further that ellipsis is part of that framework of grammatical structure within which the members of a culture can express their ideas. Strangely enough, these and other similar statements do not seem to have stimulated a wide-scale attack on ellipsis in contrastive studies. In contrast to other structural phenomena of language the study of ellipsis has still remained an underestimated domain, especially as regards its cohesive function in sentence connection. The former phenomenon, however, has been rarely touched upon in standard grammars of English and thus, apart from Quirk et al. (1972:708) — ellipsis in dialogue, the study of Halliday (1976) constitutes a praiseworthy exception. Neither has ellipsis paved its way in applied linguistics in spite of the commonly shared view among the teachers of English that to master ellipsis (above all verbal ellipsis) in English means to have a command of a great portion of English grammar.

As a matter of fact, much of what has been said about ellipsis within the sentence applies for the ellipsis among sentences in context. The structural properties or ellipsis remain unaltered. In sentence connection, however, ellipsis takes on one more function; that of a text-forming element. To examine the elliptical constructions that occur in sentence connection in the syntactic level, we shall have to concentrate mainly on ellipsis dependent on linguistic

context (contextual ellipsis) leaving aside such problems as ellipsis in subjectless clauses for instance. In other words, we shall concentrate on such structures contained in S_2 whose understanding and interpretation are based on the preceding S_1, or strictly speaking, on the preceding item contained in that sentence which serves as a source if missing information for the elliptical item to follow and constitutes a structural clue for ellipsis. Accordingly, we shall discuss such cases of ellipsis which fall under the postulated formula:

$$S_1 \begin{Bmatrix} \text{NP (H)} \\ \text{VP (Lv, Mv, Op.)} \\ \text{Clause} \end{Bmatrix} + S_2 \text{ (Ø)}$$

where S_1 contains either a noun phrase (that contains a head), or a verb phrase (that contains a lexical verb, modal verb, or operator) or clause, all of which are ellipted in S_2. Similarly to Gunter (1974) by linguistic context we shall mean the immediately foregoing sentence (S_1 uttered by someone other than the ellipsis maker in S_2.

In our analysis of ellipsis we shall adopt the division applied by Halliday, based on the criterion of the grammatical function of the ellipted item. Thus, we shall discuss nominal, verbal, and clausal ellipsis respectively.

1.0. Nominal Ellipsis

To avoid terminological discussion on the components of a noun phrase we shall adopt the description of a nominal group presented by Halliday (1976) which, in fact, corresponds to that of Quirk (1972) and is accepted by most standard grammars. (For a more detailed contrastive analysis of noun phrase in Polish and English see: Fisiak et al. 1978:55 ff.). We shall view then, the primary structure of a nominal group as (M)+H+(Q) ie. Pre/Modifier+Head +Qualifier (Postmodifier).

Halliday observes (1976:148) that the principal function of nominal ellipsis is that of upgrading a modifier to function as head. Thus, in the context:

1 a) Which do you prefer: the Italian cars or the English cars?
  b) The Italian are better, I think.
1 a') Które samochody wolisz, włoskie czy angielskie?
  b') Myślę, że włoskie są lepsze.

'Italian' which is an epithet and consequently acts as modifier, is upgraded to function as head, or in other words, 'Italian' functions as modifier in 1a, and as head in 1b. We can, therefore, speak of the noun phrase in 1b as an elliptical nominal group. At this very point we should stress the importance of context and the role it plays in sentence connection. Thus, 1b divorced of its context would be completely meaningless if it were not for the source of information

supplied from the preceding nominal group 1a. Accordingly, "... a nominal group that is elliptical presupposes a previous one that is not, and is therefore cohesive, (...) and may always be replaced by its full, nonelliptical equivalent" (cf Halliday 1976:148). Ellipsis occurs as well with noun phrases consisting of head only. In such cases the head is ellipted altogether:

2a) George failed the examination.
b) Didn't he tell you that I passed.
2a') George nie zdał egzaminu.
b') Nie powiedział ci, że ja zdałem?

The examples in English and Polish we have provided so far reveal close structural similarity as regards their elliptical structures. Let us examine now the following set of instances:

3a) Here are my six white shirts.
b) Where are yours?
c) What abour yours?
d) Let me see the next.
e) May I choose the best for myself?
f) I prefer mine.
3a') Oto sześć moich białych koszul.
b') Gdzie są twoje?
c') A jak tam twoje/twoja?
d') Pokaż mi następne/następną?
e') Mogę wybrać najlepsze/najlepszą dla siebie?
f') Wolę swoją/swoje.

The first difference that turns up in the above is that of number. This can be accounted for as follows: neither the adjective in English nor the possessives in the adjectival function are marked for the singular/plural distinction. Hence, the elliptical 3c, 3d, 3e, and 3f irrespective of their context may presuppose *your shirt* vs *your shirts* (3b), *the next shirt* vs *next shirts* (3d), *the best shirt* vs *the best shirts* and so on, provided the distinction of number is signalled by the verb as in 3b. Alternatively, there are instances of nominal ellipsis where English allows for two interpretations whereas in Polish due to the case forms which clearly distinguish between plural/singular number, the interpretation becomes more specifiic. This, however, in no way impoverishes the English system which to solve the ambiguity may resort to substitution, eg. *Let me see the one* vs *Let me see the next ones* or *the best one* vs *the best ones* as in 3d, e. This does not refer to the possessive pronouns *mine, yours* etc, which will always remain ambiguous (compare 3f). The same holds true for gender the lack of which may cause some ambiguity or hesitation as to which head is presupposed in;

4a) Do you like the house and the piece of land I bought?
b) Well, I prefer mine.
4a') Podoba ci się ten dom i działka, którą kupiłem?
b') Wolę swój/swoją/swoje.

The *mine* in 4b may presuppose either *the house* or *the piece of land*, or both. The inflected possessive *swój* in Polish (marked for gender and number) excludes such a scope of possible interpretations and consequently may be ascribed the feature of containing more cohesive power.

The distinction between number and gender is as well neutralized with *any* in contrast to Polish marked forms for respective indefinite pronouns:

5a) I want some books on animals.
b) We don't have any.
c) Take any.
5a') Chcę kilka książek o zwierzętach.
b') Nie mamy żadnej/żadnych
c') Weź którąkolwiek/którekolwiek.

where the presupposed nominal group in 5b, c, may refer to book, books, animal, animals, whereas in 5b', c', the indeterminacy that arises in the extent of presupposition is actually restricted to żadnych (+książek, zwierząt), którekolwiek (+książki, zwierzęta) as the respective plural forms correspond to each other.

Attention should be paid also to the difference that arises with the Polish counterpart for English *both* functioning elliptically. Let us examine the examples provided by Halliday and contrast them with Polish equivalents:

6a) The parents could not be traced.
b) Apparently both were abroad.
6a') Rodziców nie można było znaleźć.
b') Najwidoczniej obydwoje byli zagranicą.
7a) The parents may enjoy it but the children will be bored.
b) You cannot please both.
7a') Rodzicom może się to podobać ale dzieci się zanudzą.
b') Nie można zadowolić jednych i drugich.

It follows from the above that the English item *both* is expressed by *obydwaj* or *jedni i drudzy* in Polish. This distinction is brought about by the fact that *obydwaj* (which also enters into a case agreement with nouns) has exclusively the sense of 'two', and therefore refers back to a nominal group containing a head in plural presupposing only a set of two single entities (compare 6b' in contrast to 7b'). In the case of two or more sets in the presupposed nominal group Polish makes use of *jedni i drudzy*. The point is, however, that the usage of *jedni i drudzy* has no elliptical function in Polish but may be interpreted as an instance of

reference rather having the function similar to that of pronouns. Let us compare:

8a) Two students were standing in front of the building.
b) Both were called in.
8a') Dwaj studenci stali przed budynkiem.
b') Wezwano obydwu do środka.
9a) The students and professors were standing there, too.
b) Both were called in.
9a') Studenci i profesorowie stali tam również.
b') Wezwano jednych i drugich do środka.

Obydwu in 8b' entails the elliptical noun from the previous context ie. *Obydwu studentów. Jednych i drugich* in 9b' on the other hand, stands for or refers back to the two nouns *studenci i profesorowie* respectively, for we cannot have: *"Wezwano jednych i drugich studentów i profesorów...". The distinction between *obydwaj* and *jedni i drudzy* allows as well for avoiding ambiguity which arises in the case of English *both* that may consitute an inditermined cohesive tie as in:

10a) John and Mary played ball with their younger friends.
b) Both were having good time.
10a') John i Mary grali w piłkę z młodszymi kolegami.
b') Obydwoje świetnie się bawili.
c') Jedni i drudzy świetnie się bawili.

where the cohesive ties can be interpreted as follows:

10b) — both=(John+Mary)+(their younger friends)
b') — obydwoje=(John and Mary)
c') — jedni i drudzy=(John+Mary)+(z młodszymi kolegami)

Thus, the semantic interpretation of *jedni i drudzy* in contrast to *obydwaj* is *wszyscy* (all).
Jedni i drudzy, moreover, can occur in singular with positive or negative meaning contrasting with English *both* and *neither*, for example:

11a) Did John write the short story or the poem?
b) Both.
c) Neither.
11a') John napisał opowiadanie czy wiersz?
b') Jedno i drugie.
c') Ani jedno ani drugie.

This leads us still to another observation that *both* in 11b cannot be realized in Polish by *obydwa* in 11b' as the correferential nouns in the previous context

11a' are two different entities (short story vs. poem). Thus, *obydwa* in Polish falls under additional restriction, namely: *obydwa* refers back to two single entities which must be the same. (Compare 8b') This restriction does not apply to *jedno i drugie* in singular (positive, negative) which can occur elliptically regardless of the sameness of the preceding nouns, along with *obydwa* and *żaden*, e.g.

12a) Which if the two books has John read?
b) Neither.
c) Both.
12a') Którą z tych dwóch książek przeczytał John?
b') Ani jedną ani drugą. (Żadną).
c') Jedną i drugą. (Obydwie).

To finish with, let us observe that Polish does not distinguish between neither (of the two), or none (of the many), both realized by *żaden*, eg.:

13a) How many books has John read?
b) None.
13a') Ile książek przeczytał John?
b') Żadnej.

The equivalent for *either* is *którykolwiek* or *albo jeden albo drugi*, eg.:

14a) Which side of the street should we park our car?
b) Either.
14a') Po której stronie powinniśmy zaparkować samochód?
b') Po którejkolwiek. (Po jednej albo po drugiej).

The remaining premodifiers (several, some, few, many, all, vs. niektóre, nieliczne, wiele, wszystkie) reveal no structural differences in their elliptical properties in the two languages in question.

2.0. Verbal ellipsis

Verbal ellipsis does not constitute one system but is strictly connected with the fairly complex verb system of language. We shall not be concerned here with a detailed analysis of verb phrase structures in Polish and English (already done elsewhere, cf. Fsiak et al. 1978: 27ff., 123ff.) which might entail an unnecessary discussion about the particular structural and functional differences of verbal elements in the two respective languages. It seems convenient to discuss the phenomenon of ellipsis in sentence connection under the general headings of Modal/Operator Ellipsis and Main/Lexical Verb Ellipsis. Such two-fold division should simplify and facilitate the contrastive approach without violating the general principles of verb phrase structures in English and Polish.

2.1 Main/Lexical Verb Ellipsis

Halliday (1976) observes that any verbal group not containing a lexical verb is elliptical. However, a structural phenomenon that works in the system of one language does not have to hold true in the other. As we shall see below, English and Polish manifest in this respect a considerable discrepancy. Let us compare the following set of examples:

15a) Mary won't sing tonight.
b) She might tomorrow.
c) She could tomorrow.
d) She should tomorrow.
e) She must be all means.
f) She would if I asked her.
g) She will tomorrow then.
15a') Mary nie będzie śpiewać dziś wieczorem.
b') Mogłaby jutro.
c') Mogłaby jutro.
d') Powinna jutro.
e') Musi mimo wszystko.
f') Śpiewałaby gdybym ją poprosił.
g') Więc zaśpiewa jutro.

It follows from the above that there is a group of English modals which in this type of sentence connection find their close corresponding modal form in Polish and allow for lexical verb ellipsis (compare 15b — e, 15b' — e'). The difference arises with *will*, *would*, *shall*, whose equivalence in Polish is, as a rule, the repetition of the lexical verb (compare 15f, g, 20f', g'). The above structural difference results from; firstly, the lack of a structural *would* counterpart in Polish, (its equivalent is the inflected form of a verb marked for conditional mood, eg. *-bym*, *byś*, *-by* etc.) and secondly, the misleading similarity of Polish auxiliary *być* as a future marker *będzie* to the English modal *will*. Let us repeat after Fisiak (1978:123ff.) that "the English modals *shall*, *will* used as modals expressing intention or prediction do not have any counterparts in Polish". Thus, we face instances where lexical ellipsis cannot occur in Polish and is expressed by the repetition of the verb or the ellipsis of the whole predication, eg:

16a) Who will take the exams if Mary won't?
b) He will.
16a') Kto będzie zdawać egzaminy jeśli Mary nie zechce?
b') On. (On będzie zdawać).
17a) I'm afraid they will do it.
b) They won't, believe me.

17a') Obawiam się, że to zrobią.
b') Nie zrobią, wierz mi.

However, the contrast between English modal *will* and Polish future tenses in the light of ellipsis still requires certain comments. In the first place we know that *will* has two equivalents future imperfective or future perfective tense, eg: będę pisać/pisał vs napiszę. It can be easily noticed that future perfective never occurs with ellipsis in S. (compare 17b'). Likewise, we cannot have:

18a) I will wait till John returns.
b) I will, too.
c) I won't.
18a') Zaczekam aż John wróci.
b') *Ja będę też. (Ja też., or Ja też zaczekam).
c') *Ja nie będę. (Ja nie., or Ja nie zaczekam).

What makes ellipsis in Polish impossible in the above is the very lack of the auxiliary in the preceding sentence. When it comes to the future imperfective, however, the verdict about the acceptability of some elliptical rejoinders becomes more complex. Let us compare the following:

19a) I will be waiting here till John returns.
b) But I won't.
19a') Będę tu czekać aż John wróci.
b') Ale ja nie będę. (Ale ja nie).
20a) I won't be waiting here till John returns.
b) But I will.
20a') Nie będę tu czekać aż John wróci.
b') Ale ja będę. (Ale ja tak).
21a') Who will be waiting for John?
b) I will.
c) Mary will.
21a') Kto będzie czekać na Johna?
b') *Ja będę. (?)
c') *Maria będzie. (?)
22a) Why is Mary cooking dinner?
b) Because I won't.
c) Because my wife won't.
22a') Dlaczego Maria gotuje obiad?
b') *Bo ja nie będę. (?)
c') *Bo moja żona nie będzie. (?)

The sentences 19b' and 20b' sound emphatic. More naturally we would have the alternative forms Ja tak/nie. For most native speakers of Polish the accepta-

bility of 19b' and 20b' presents no doubt. It is not so however with 21b', c', 22b', c', that is to say, with answers to questions which do not seem to allow for ellipsis of lexical verbs even if used in future imperfective, i.e. containing the *będzie* element. It is the lack of the former one in 22a' (the question asked with the lexical present form) that makes 22b', c' incohesive. Moreover 22c' might be interpreted as ambiguous, meaning something like: "Bo moja żona nie będzie na obiedzie". "Because my wife won't be to dinner." Compare also:

23a) Why won't be Mary inviting (won't invite) guests to dinner?
b) Because I won't.
23a') Dlaczego Maria nie będzie zapraszać gości na obiad?
b') Bo ja nie będę (zapraszać).
(na obiedzie).

It is not easy to establish an exhaustive list of restrictions or conditions as regards the będzie + ellipsis structure, as there seem to be many exceptions and individual preferences as to its acceptability. That is why the example provided in 15g' might be "Wiec będzie jutro" and would to many pass as cohesive. What we can do is to give a minimum of three conditions under which the discussed ellipsis can occur:

(1) S_1 Affirmative future imperfective.
S_2 Negative contrastive response.
(2) S_1 Negative future imperfective.
S_2 Positive Contrastive response.
(3) S_1 Yes/no question in future imperfective.
S_2 Negative answer. eg.
Will you be playing with me? No, I will not.
Będziesz się ze mną bawić? Nie, nie będę.

The properties of lexical ellipsis in English (with modals) also extend to auxiliaries *be* and *have*, in progressive and perfective tenses. As Polish has no special structural means to match English progressive vs. non-progressive, perfective vs. non-perfective distinction, therefore, no such instances of lexical ellipsis are possible (cf. Fisiak 1978:111 ff.). In this case, the equivalent of lexical ellipsis in Polish is either the repetition of the lexical verb or the omission of the whole of the predication, eg:

24a) He has been coming here since yesterday.
b) I know he has.
24a') Przychodzi tu od wczoraj.
b') Wiem, że przychodzi. (Wiem).

As we have noticed earlier there are instances of lexical verb ellipsis common to Polish and English when the non-modal verb is presupposed by modal (com-

pare 15b', c', d'). Whereas English has the property of working proportionally in two directions ie. non-modal presupposed by modal and modal presupposed by non-modal, the former one cannot occur in Polish, eg:

25a) He beats his wife every day.
b) He shouldn't.
25a') Bije żonę codziennie.
b') Nie powinien.
26a) He should beat his wife every day.
b) Why doesn't he?
26a') Powinien bić żonę codziennie.
b') Dlaczego nie bije?
27a) I can answer the question.
b) Why don't you?
c) Please, do.
27a') Mogę idpowiedzieć na to pytanie.
b') Dlaczego nie odpowiadasz. c') Proszę odpowiedz.

The lexical verb in S_1 is as a rule repeated in S_2, which illustrates at the same time the non-occurrence of lexical verb ellipsis in Polish with *do*. The very fact, however, that the lexical verb is repeated in Polish does not alter the restriction we observe in both languages, namely; if the modal verb is presupposed by non-modal, the subjects in both sentences must be correferential:

28a) They can swim.
b) *But we don't.
c) But they don't.
28a') Potrafią pływać.
b') *Ale nie pływamy.
c') Ale nie pływają.

3.0. Modal/Operator Ellipsis

Modal verb ellipsis (Operator ellipsis) consists in involving only the omission of modals or operators whereas the lexical verb remains intact. The nature of this kind of ellipsis is such that it occurs mainly in very closely bounded sequences such as answers to questions, questions to statements and the like, and is usually accompanied by the omission of the subject and the entire verb system besides the lexical verb. The ellipted modal (operator) can be easily found by reference to the surrounding context. The sentence that follows S_1 is very often a short response, eg. past participle only:

29a) He may have been cought by the police.
b) And arrested.

29a') Mógł być złapany przez policję.
b') I zaaresztowany.

where the ellipted elements are: *may have been* and *mógł być*. What brings about the main difference as regards modal/operator ellipsis in the two languages is the non-existance of the category 'operator', the lack of tense operators (auxiliaries) *be* and *have* in Polish, which make operator ellipsis in this language impossible, eg:

30a) Was she crying?
b) No, laughing.
30a') Płakała?
b') Nie, śmiała się.
31a) What have you been doing?
b) Learning English.
31a') Co robiłeś?
b') Uczyłem się angielskiego.

We can speak, therefore, of the non-existance of this kind of operator ellipsis in Polish due to the functional and structural difference in verb phrase structure, and the fact that the features of tense aspect and person are, in Polish, already signalled in the lexical verb itself. The same holds true for the modals *will* |*would* (as discussed above) whose counterparts in Polish are lexical verbs in their respective tense and mood.

Mention should be made as well of operator ellipsis in English with non-finite verbal clauses having the structure to be+present participle where the operator *to be* can be omitted in S_2, eg:

32a) What would you like your children to be doing?
b) Helping their mother.
32a') Co chciałbyś żeby twoje dzieci robiły?
b') Żeby pomagały matce.

The lack of correspondence between 32b and 32b' is caused by the non-existence of the to be+present participle structure in Polish. The structure in Polish which corresponds to the purpose construction in English is the complementizer *żeby*+the past tense third person form. It can be moreover observed that the elliptical response in 32b lacks, as it were, the cohesive power that can be traced in 32b'. 32b if deprived of the preceding context, might be interpreted as a possible response to a number of contexts:

What would you like to be doing?
What are they doing?
What will they be doing?
What were they doing?
} Helping their mother.

In Polish the responses would echo the structural signals in S_2. Thus, we would have: pomagać..., pomagają..., pomagać..., pomagali swojej matce, respectively.

4. 0. Clausal Ellipsis

In this section we shall mainly concentrate on differences that occur between clausal ellipsis in the two languages under analysis. Thus, we shall not be concerned with the analysis of the principles and interdependencies of verbal ellipsis and the clause already presented in details in Halliday (1976:194 ff.). Neither shall we discuss the numerous instances where clausal ellipsis reveals a close correspondence in the two languages as in:

33a) *Peter will be there.*
b) *Are you sure?*
33a') Piotr tam będzie.
b') Jesteś pewien?

To begin with, we have to emhpasize the fact that clausal ellipsis is directly bound up with the already discussed lexical verb and modal/operator ellipsis. This follows from the very structure of the verb phrase, that is to say, it depends on which verbal element is ellipted. Consequently, a clause can be looked at as having a two-part structure that consists of a modal element plus propositional element where any of them can be omitted (cf. Halliday 1976:197). What constitutes the greatest difference between English and Polish is, as a matter of fact, the propositional ellipsis in English answers to questions. Let us compare the following set of examples:

34a) Have you finished your work?
b) Yes, I have.
c) No, I haven't.
d) John has.
34a') Skończyłeś pracę?
b') Tak. (Skończyłem).
c') Nie. (Nie skończyłem).
d') John skończył.
35a) Is John going to school tomorrow?
b) Yes, he is.
c) No, he isn't.
d) Mary is.
35a') Czy Janek idzie do szkoły jutro?
b') Tak. (Idzie).
c') Nie. (Nie idzie).
d') Maria idzie.

36a) Should children obey their parents?
b) Yes, they should.
c) No, they shouldn't.
36a') Czy dzieci powinny być posłuszne rodzicom?
b') Tak. (Powinny).
c') Nie. (Nie powinny).
37a) Does she speak German?
b) Yes, she does.
c) No, she doesn't.
37a') Czy ona mówi po niemiecku?
b') Tak. (Mówi).
c') Nie. (Nie mówi).

The above instances of propositional ellipsis in English can be accounted for by what Halliday terms as a principle of marked polarity, ie. the negative vs. positive selection which consists in preserving the modal/operator at the beginning of a verbal group whereas all else can be omitted. The preservation of the modal/operator from the previous context is a peculiar feature of English which has no counterpart in Polish. The positive and negative answers (tak, nie) which in themselves are sufficient entail the ellipsis of the whole clause or a sentence in fact, and might be as well referred to as sentence ellipsis.

It should be mentioned moreover, that in many cases the distinction between ellipsis and substitution is neutralised and both forms are undistinguishable or fused, eg.

Does Mary play piano? No, but John does.,

where *does* can be interpreted as an instance of ellipsis ie. does+play, or as subtitution ie. does=plays. The possibility of substitution increases, as a matter of fact, the range of cohesive answers to questions in English.

There is still one further context for clausal ellipsis which occurs with what Halliday refers to as rejoinders to statements (1976:214). These rejoinders to the presupposed items which are not questions present a significant structural difference between the two languages. Let us compare:

38a) John is going to come.
b) Is he?
38a') Jonh przyjdzie.
b') Czyżby? (Naprawdę?) Przyjdzie?
39a) He has just arrived.
b) Has he?
39a') Właśnie przyjechał.
b') Czyżby? (Naprawdę?) Przyjechał?
40a) John met Mary yesterday.
b) Did he?

40a') John spotkał wczoraj Mary.
b') Czyżby? (Naprawdę?) Spotkał?

The utterances marked b, b' are cohesive rejoinders that have the function of quering the preceding statements. In English they take on the form of interrogative clauses with propositional ellipsis similar to the question tags at the end of declarative clauses. The Polish equivalent is a lexical item that corresponds to English really?, indeed? or the repetition of lexical (or modal, operator) verbs with interrogative rising intonation. The former instance, seems to be, however, less frequent. This type of ellipsis, therefore, does not occur in Polish unless we accept the view that czyżby and naprawdę entail the ellipsis of the whole clause eg: czyżby + przyjechał, naprawdę + spotkał, etc.

As the final point in the discussion of ellipsis that deserves some attention is the interesting instance of zeugma or zeugmatic answers. Zeugma is a rhetoric figure based on ellipsis which as Halliday puts it" ... involves a transfer from one element of clause structure to another" (1976:214). Zeugma produces a comic, unexpected effect characteristic of language humour. Zeugmatic answers are typical for particular structures of languages and, consequently, more often than not, untranslatable. One could provide a number of examples. Let us confine ourselves to some:

41) Wziął ją za żonę? Nie, za nogi.
42) Co pan reżyser ostatnio nakręcił? Zegarek.
43) Co wam nauczyciel zadał? Cios.
44) Pan jest samochodem? Nie, magistrem.

The untranslatability of zeugmatic effect is due to the lack of correspondance between collocations in particular languages. Thus, in 42 for example, *nakręcić* collocates in Polish with both *film* and *zegarek* whereas English distinguishes between *to shoot a film* and *to wind a watch*. (More detailed comments on zeugma are presented in Plett 1975:231 ff.).

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DIFFERENCES IN DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN ARABIC /l/, /r/ AND ENGLISH /l/, /r/

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Phonetic differences between lateral and trill articulations in "emphatic"[1] and "non-emphatic" contexts raises special problems for Arabic speakers of English, since differentiation depends on syntagmatic implications different from those relevant to English.[2]

I. In the main, two chief varieties of Arabic /l/ are distinguished:[3]

(i) "clear" l with resonance approximating to a front close vowel |i|. Contact is typically made between tongue tip and the alveolar ridge, allowing air to escape at one or both sides of the tongue. The front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate as for a front close vowel |i|. The back of the tongue is depressed in relation to the roof of the mouth.

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[1] "Emphatic" consonants in Arabic may be defined in general terms as those consonants in the pronunciation of which the tongue is laterally expanded throughout its length and flattened in rear tip, as opposed to "non-emphatic" consonants in the pronunciation of which the tip and blade of tongue make contact with both dental and alveolar zones of the plate. The tongue is laterally contracted along its length.

[2] Reference is made to Standard Jordanian Arabic, a variety used by educated speakers. Comparisons are made between Standard Jordanian Arabic and relevant features of RP (Received Pronunciation).

[3] Brief reading conventions for the letters of Arabic words are as follows: —
d: Voiced denti-alveolar 'non-emphatic' plosive
D: Voiced denti-alveolar 'emphatic' plosive
t: Voiceless denti-alveolar 'non-emphatic' phosive
T: Voiceless denti-alveolar 'emphatic' plosive
S: Voiceless denti-alveolar fricative
X: Voiceless uvular fricative
G: Voiced uvular fricative

(ii) a "dark" |l| with resonance approximating to a back close vowel |u|, in the pronunciation of which the tip of the tongue is raised to make contact with the teeth-ridge as for 'clear' |l| but the back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate as for a close rounded vowel |u|. When the closure is removed, the air escapes on one or both sides of the tongue.
'dark' *l* occurs in the following contexts:—

(A) *Before or after a unitary complex of back vowel and an "emphatic" consonant*:—

(i) *Before a back vowel and an "emphatic" consonant*, e.g.

/*la* Hath/ 'noticed'	/*laa Ta* x/ 'threw'
/*la Tam*/ 'slapped'	/*laT af*/ 'made gentle'
/*la tham*/ 'threaded'	/*laS am*/ filled up'

(ii) *After a unitary complex of back vowel and an "emphatic" consonant*; e.g.

in word-medial position	*in word-final position*
/*Tala* b/ 'request'	/ba*Tal*/ 'hero'
/X*ala*T/ 'mixed'	/ba*Sal*/ 'onion'
/*Tala*:q/ 'divorce'	/ha*Tal*/ 'rained'
/*Sala*Ta/ 'salad'	/ma*Sl*/ 'vaccine'

(B) *After or before a uvular plosive or a uvular fricative*| e.g.

/H*aI*q/ 'throat'	/ba*Gl*/ 'mule'
/x*aI*q/ 'people'	/SuG*l*/ 'work'

'clear' |l|, on the other hand, appears in 'non-emphatic' context, i.e. before or after a unitary complex of vowel +a'non-emphatic' consonant, e.g.

Word-initial	*Word-medial*	*Word-final*
/lamas/ 'touched'	/balaH/ 'dates'	/9asal/ 'honey'
/lasa9/ 'sting'	/balad/ 'country'	/kasal/ 'laziness'
/labis/ 'dressed'	/walad/ 'boy'	/mathal/ 'example'
/lama9/ 'sparkled'	/malal/ 'boredom'	/ʔad3al/ 'time'

9: Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
H: Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
ʔ: Glottal Stop
l: Voiced denti-alveolar "dark" lateral
l: Voiced denti-alveolar lateral
t: Voiced alvealar flap
th: Voiceless dental fricative
th: Voiced dental 'emphatic' fricative
s: Voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
d3: Voiced palato-alveolar affricate.
a: front open vowel
ɑ: back open vowel

If the structure of the word is expressed in terms of Consonant (C), Vowel (V) and prosody[4], features of whole words are abstracted and allotted to *prosodies*.[5] On the basis of the phonic data, the following word prosodies relevant to l:*l* categories are set up:

(a) *y prosody* characterizing words having front vowels+'non-emphatic' consonants and *w prosody* characterizing words having back vowels+"emphatic" consonants. A generalised statement of tri-syllabic word structure involving is as follows:—

$$Y/wC_1\ vC_2\ vC_3$$

Within the structure of the word, it is necessary to recognize that the occurrence of a given feature in any place of tri-consonantal root (i.e. at C_1, C_2, or C_3) would entail occurrence of compatible features (identical consonants) in either of the two adjoining places. Hence, the realization of "clear"/l/ is determined by a phonetic context in which compatible "non-emphatic" consonants regularly recur; occurrence of a "non-emphatic" lateral at C_1 would exclude the possibility of occurrence of an "emphatic" consonant at C_2 or C_3 positions. Conversely, the occurrence of 'dark' /*l*/ at C_1—C_2 would exclude the possibility of ocurrence of non-emphatic' consonants in either of the two remaining places. The following combinatory possibilities of 'dark' laterals are attested:—

Sequence	*Attested Combinations*
(i) C_1—C_2	/*l*—T/
	/*l*—th/
	/*l*—x/
	/*l*—q/
(ii) C_1—C_3	/*l*—m/
	/*l*—th/
	/*l*—b/
	/*l*—f/
(iii) C_2—C_3	/*l*—b/
	/*l*—T/
	/*l*—S/

It can be seen that laterals are 'dark' in articulation when they precede "emphatic" or "uvular" consonants in any pattern and their potential admissible combinatory possibilities are restricted to "emphatics" and labials (cf. examples).

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[4] The structure of the word may be stated in terms of two generalized kinds of elements: Consonant (C) and Vowel (V). Thus, the structure of the word /munxul/ 'sieve' may be stated as (CVCCVC) (cf. Waterson 1956).

[5] Cf. Ribins (1966), *op. cit.* p. 3.

II. *Trill Articulations*:

The most common variety of Arabic /r/ is a voiced alveolar trill in the pronunciation of which the tip of the tongue makes a series of taps against the alveolar ridge. Distribution of Arabic trill consonants exhibits a similar pattern to that of "emphatic" consonants in that the quality of the open vowel in the environment is invariably back, cf.

	Frontness	*Backness*
(i)	/sama/ 'sky'	/*rama*/ 'threw'
	/masa/ 'walked'	/*rasa*/ 'bribed'
	/lawa/ 'folded'	/*rawa*/ 'said'
(ii)	/falak/ 'heaven'	/*farak*/ 'thrashed'
	/balad /'country'	/*barad*/ 'hail'
	/hazad3/ 'ballads'	/*harad*3 'uproar'
(iii)	/Had3al/ 'stalk'	/*Had*3*ar*/ 'stone'
	/kasal/ 'laziness'	/*kasar*/ 'broke'

Differentiation between contrastive forms relating to consonant-vowel relations comprises the following features:—

(i) Atrill consonantal articulation is always followed or preceded by a back open Vowel,

(ii) All other consonants (except uvular plosive and uvular fricatives) are preceded and/or followed by a front open Vowel.

III. *Comparison Between Arabic /l/, /r/ and English /l/, /r/*

A. *Laterals*:

Although two major resonance categories are recognised for RP English (Gimson 1965), viz. 'clear' and 'dark', the contextual distribution of either variety of /l/ is quite different from those described for Arabic. Features of *lateral* accompaniment in successive places or exclusion are of a different order from those relevant to RP. This is particularly noticeable in respect of "dark" lateral articulation which varies regularly in association with equally varying "emphatic" consonantal and "backer" vocalic features of the environment. Distribution of the three principal allophones of RP /l/ is as follows:— (cf. Gimson 1965).

(i) The 'clear' lateral allophone /*l*/ appears in word-initial and syllable-initial positions and between vowels

(ii) The 'dark' allophone /*l*/ appears in word-final and syllable-final positions, and between vowel and following consonant, e.g. *doll, poll, silver.*

(iii) A partially voiceless lateral /l/ after word-initial stops, e.g. *please*/pli:z/, *clay* /klei/.

The effect of differences in distribution of 'clear' and 'dark' varieties of /l/ on the Arab learner's response to English is clearly felt when English 'dark' is realised as "clear" in positions where it should appear "dark", i.e. after a vowel, e.g. *feel*.

B. *Trills*:

The most common variety of RP /r/ is a post-alveolar frictionless continuant (cf. Gimson 1965), which appears (i) initially before a vowel (e.g. *road*). (ii) following a lenis consonant except /d/ (e.g. *bribe*) and (iii) in syllable-initial cluster (e.g. *gross*).

In contrast to RP /r/. Arabic /r/ is a lingual roll. Greater tolerance is permitted to combine with other consonants and particularly in word-final positions. Pronunciation errors arise from defferences of phonetic features between Arabic /r/ and RP /r/ and from other associated features of syllabication peculiar to Arabic word structure. Hence, English sequences such as /r/+front half-open vowel are realised by Arab speakers as /r/+back open vowel, parallel to the Arabic unitary complex of /r/+back open vowel, cf. JE (Jordanian English *RP*

JE	*RP*
/*r*apid/	/rapid/ *rapid*
/*r*abit/	/rabit/ *rabbet*
/*k*arut/	/karat/ *carrot*
/*r*adiš/	/radis/ *raddish*
/*r*atil/	/ratal/ *rattle*

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'MACRO-SCALE' ATTITUDES TO THE FOREIGNER'S LANGUAGE

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One can find an extensive study of problems concerning the sociological and psychological aspects of the foreigner's language (i.e. the language of a non-native speaker) in Janicki 1982. A significant part of the work deals with the native person's attitudes toward the foreigner's language and toward the possible mistakes (mainly sociolinguistic) that the latter can make. The author's framework for the study of these attitudes includes a list of variables to be accounted for, and analyzed in their totality:

> "The native speaker's evaluation of the foreigner's sociolinguistic deviance in the foreign language situation is mediated on the one hand by the characteristics of the foreigner's pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, and on the other by a set of socio-psychological variables. The latter include social variables such as the foreigner's sex and age, para-social variables such as channel and setting, personality characteristics and the affective state of the foreigner" Janicki (1982:58).

In the list of variables influencing the native person's attitude to the foreigner's language and his/her sociolinguistic deviance that Janicki gives, one additional point needs to be made. The factors/variables discussed by the author pertain to the 'micro-scale' characteristics of the two persons involved in a foreign language situation. No mention is made of the 'macro-scale' characteristics of the interaction (foreign language situation), which may also significantly affect the native's attitude to the foreigner's language.

Attitudes to the foreigner's language may be influenced by the following macro-scale factors:

1. the degree of ethnocentrism present in the native's community and the feeling of uniqueness of one's own culture;

2. the type of attitudes revealed by the native community toward foreigners in general and toward particular foreign communities (nations, countries, etc.);
3. the feeling of (un)importance of the native language of the community in relation to other languages, and the degree to which foregin languages are learned successfully by members of the community.

Undoubtedly, the three factors may overlap to a great degree, and will also interplay with the micro-scale factors quoted at the beginning of this paper.

A classical example of a community whose ethnocentrism results in producing negative attitudes to foreigners speaking the native language of the community is Japanese society. Many authors agree that the foreigner's good or native-like proficiency in Japanese is looked down upon in Japan. For example, Condon and Yousef (1975:254) say that:

> "To a great extent Japan is ... a nation ... where a foreigner who learns Japanese 'too well', being able to read and write as well as speak, is likely to be regarded ambivalently, with a mixture of curiosity, admiration, and suspicion. Japanese tend to regard their culture as unique, even feeling that only a 'pure Japanese' can really understand the culture and the language".

Loveday (1983:25) quotes several other experiences and observations about the Japanese, similar to that given above. Interestingly enough, not all foreign groups may face such "cold treatment" when attempting to speak Japanese in Japan. Loveday quotes Suzuki (1975) who says that such an attitude revealed by the Japanese "applies mainly to Caucasian L2 speakers" (Loveday 1983:25). Jorden (1980) confirms the selectivity of the Japanese rejection of only some foreign groups: "How often the statement is made that a Western face and colloquial Japanese are in conflict" (p. 228, quoted in Loveday 1983:25). Rubach-Kuczewska (1983:9) reports a similar observation: "One gets an impression ... that an average Japanese still cannot believe that the visitors from overseas are able to learn *nihongo* — the Japanese language" (translation mine).

A similar attitude has been observed among some Poles toward foreigners in contact with representations of Polish culture. (Although the following example is not a linguistic one it may be used as a good illustration of the central point).

At a show of six contemporary Polish films organized at an American university (Spring 1983), a Pole complained that none of the Americans would really "understand" these films or would get their "flavour". She remembered having seen "Ashes and Diamonds" (*Popiół i diament*), which was also included in the show, in England a few years back, and there, according to her, "nobody got it and everyone was bored". Actually, the majority of Americans that

saw all the six films, including "Ashes and Diamonds", seemed not only to have enjoyed most of them but also to have understood them.

In some cases the community's ethnocentrism and its dislike of members of various other ethnic groups speaking the native language may be a result of the feeling of cultural insecurity or the perception that the identity of the community is being threatened:

> "Where tribal or sub-tribal languages are spoken in smaller areas within a nation, ... in Africa ... Latin America and Asia ... an outsider who speaks the language of the people may also be regarded with a mixture of delight and suspicion or even fear. By speaking their language he may implicitly flatter his hosts, but may also threaten them. As a Tarascan-speaking friend in Mexico said: 'The *gringo* who learns Tarascan may take from us all we have left — our secrets.'" (Condon and Yousef 1975:254 - 255).

Loveday (1983:25) comments on the two types of communities which may either favour or disfavour foreign speakers of their own (communities') languages:

> "This antiintegrative, ethnocentric attitude toward L2 speakers has been called 'communalist' by Mazrui (1975) in contrast to 'ecumenical' linguistic communities which transcend the boundaries of racial or ethnic definition."

Americans seem to be an example of an 'ecumenical' community. One finds a brief account of this fact in Ferguson and Heath (1981). They link this problem with Americans attitudes' towards learning foreign languages, which, in turn, may be seen as a function of Americans' conviction that whomever they meet should speak English, anyhow.

> "American attitudes toward languages other than English are ... confused. Many Americans regard the use of another language in the USA as a sign of inferiority and disadvantage — to be kept hidden in one's own case and educated away in the case of others. They view the study of foreign languages in school as not particularly useful in achieving a good education or preparing for a career. Yet some of these Americans are proud of a President who can speak a few words of Spanish on a a public occasion and are enormously impressed by a European visitor who speaks several languages. Although Americans tend to believe that English is hard for foreigners to learn, they often feel that educated foreigners 'speak better English than we do'" (Ferguson and Heath 1981:xxvii—xxviii).

In Poland, where the majority of people have positive attitude towards those who learn and speak foreign languages but, judging from personal observation, where also the majority's success in mastering a foreign language is very small, the attitude toward foreigners speaking Polish is highly positive.[1] Poles (maybe even more than Americans) think that their language

[1] This seems to be true at least for the private relations between Poles and foreigners. As Professor Robert Herbert (personal communication) says, the situation may often be quite different on the official/business level, especially when the foreigner in Poland acts as a client visiting a shop, post-office, travel agency, etc.

is very hard for foreigners to learn, and even the most simple specimens of Polish produced by a foreigner effect genuine enthusiasm in Poles. The prevailing opinion exists that no foreigner can really gain native-like competence in Polish, so the really few foreigners who have achieved this (and sometimes may be seen and heard on TV, for example) are commonly admired. This 'ecumenical' feature in the Polish community is generated by several factors. Poles are generally open to mixing with members of other communities, and they also appreciate it if the latter tend to identify in some way with their host culture, the best exemplification of which is speaking at least some Polish. Besides, Polish is known not to be among the languages which are most frequently picked up for foreign/second language learning, and foreigners speaking the language must be seen as raising the prestige of Polish, and, consequently, of its speakers.

Also, however, the historically and politically conditioned ethnocentrism of Poles might be seen as a factor preventing the occurrence of any positive attitudes toward foreigners speaking Polish. Ethnocentrism is undoubtedly present among Poles, and may be found in a prevailing feeling of uniqueness of the Polish culture, of which merely one example has been given above. One may also find a reflection of this fact in the above mentioned belief of many Poles that a foreigner cannot speak Polish with native-like competence, and also in that some ways of expressing things in Polish cannot be matched with anything else in any other language. Once a Pole reacted in such a manner to an item of television news saying that Mickiewicz's epic *Pan Tadeusz* had been translated into English. The Pole expressed his concern that he could not imagine "a truly adequate translation" of this literary work into *any* foreign language. As a matter of fact, he would not question the adequacy of the Polish translations of other great literary works written in various foreign languages.

Another factor shaping the attitude to the foreigner's language, as indicated at the beginning of the paper, has been that of evaluating differently one's native language as used by a member of a *particular* foreign community. Following the results of the social psychologists investigating the attitudes toward particular social and/or regional varieties of a language (cf. for example, Giles and StClair 1979, Giles 1977), it is possible to hypothesise that attitudes and stereotypes about given communities and cultures will also play a significant role in how particular *foreign* 'variety' of somebody's native language will be judged.

A Polish student of one college has described her reactions (which may be considered typical of many other Polish students of the same or similar colleges, though would require further, empirical confirmation) to the Polish spoken by foreign students studying at the same school. The foreign students

have been grouped into three major "ethnic" classes: Arabs, Blacks (Africans) and Americans (White).

The Polish of the Arabs has been described in decidedly negative terms, as very "slow" (in the student's words: "just as they move in their hot climate"), and "sticky" (!) (*lepki*) ("just as they actually speak their own language"). The stereotypical attitude toward Arab culture and behaviour is reinforced negatively by the general image held of Arab students in Poland: they are usually thought of as lazy, snobbish and unjustifiably rich (thanks to "black market" operations).

In Poland seeing a Black on the street is still something of an unusual event for most passers-by. Blacks are, to some degree, thought of as not quite "real", and not to be taken very seriously since they are so "different". Hence, the Polish student has described the Polish of the Black students as "funny" and "child-like", but also "nice" and "pleasant to the ear". Possibly the evaluation of this accent as child-like may have been the result of the common stereotype of Blacks living in Africa as being not as intelligent as members of the white race, and rather dumb and backwards in political and economic development.

A positive, but otherwise "neutral" attitude has been reported toward the Polish of the American students. This may require the least explanation, as the American culture (and thus Americans) is generally viewed very positively in Poland, and most Polish students are very much attracted to it. Hence, the positive attitude to the American accent in the Polish language.

This brief discussion has attempted to show the significance of several large-scale social and political factors responsible for the foreigner's language by the native community. They can pertain either to the characteristics of the native community itself (e.g. feeling of ethnocentrism, attitudes and success in foreign language learning), or they may be directly connected with the attitudes, beliefs and steoretypes held of foreigners in general or of a particular community as well as the evaluation of the community's own position and language in relation to others. All these factors are significantly interconnected with one another, and with the micro-scale factors present in each foreign language situation.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN-POLISH CONTRASTIVE STUDIES

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0. INTRODUCTION

The bibliography below comprises the items that concern Polish-German contrastive studies as well as works dealing with theoretical aspects of contrastive linguistics which were published by Polish and German linguists. Only those general works on contrastive linguistics of other foreign linguists have been quoted that were published either in Poland or East Germany. The bibliography contains some unpublished Ph. D. dissertations and post-doctoral dissertations. No Masters theses, however, have been included.

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5. ABBREVIATIONS

AUL	— Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Łódź.
AUNC	— Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Toruń.
AUW	— Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Wrocław.
BPTJ	— Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego. Kraków.
DaF	— Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Leipzig.
ISB	— Interlanguage Studies Bulletin. Utrecht.
Jahrbuch I	— Germanistisches Jahrbuch DDR — VRP 1977/78. Kultur -und Informationszentrum der DDR in Warszawa.
Jahrbuch II	— Germanistisches Jahrbuch DDR — VRP 1980/81. Kultur- und Informationszentrum der DDR in Warszawa.
LAB	— Linguistische Arbeitsberichte. Leipzig.
LS	— Linguistische Studien. Zentralinstitut für Sprachwissenschaft. Reihe A. Berlin.
PSiCL	— Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics. Poznań.
SAP	— Studia Anglica Posnaniensia. Poznań.
SGP	— Studia Germanica Posnaniensia. Poznań.

WZ Berlin — Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.

WZ Greifswald — Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.

WZ Güstrow — Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Pädagogischen Hochschule "Lieselotte Herrmann" Güstrow. Aus der Philosophischen Fakultät.

WZ Halle — Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle/Wittenberg. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.

WZ Leipzig — Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.

WZ Rostock — Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Wilhelm-Pieck-Universität Rostock. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe.

ZNUŁ — Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Łódź.

ZPSK — Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationswissenschaft. Berlin.

ZSl — Zeitschrift für Slawistik. Berlin.

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